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EDITORIAL

Dr. Leo V. Muralt of the University of Zurich, Switzerland, Editor of *Zwingliana,* recently stated that one of the most urgently needed contributions to the study of the origins of the Swiss Anabaptist movement was a study of the influence of Conrad Grebel's study in Paris upon his thinking. The second instalment of the story of Conrad Grebel's early life which is now appearing as a series of three articles in the Review, meets this need. It is to be feared however that Dr. von Muralt will be disappointed if he had expected to find evidences of a positive influence of French humanism upon Grebel's development. Dr. Bender's exhaustive study rather demonstrates the contrary. The third and final instalment of the series will give an evaluation of Grebel's humanism and its sources.

Documentary Material of any Considerable Age and Value for American Mennonite History is exceedingly rare, as those who have worked in the field well know. Official archives are still rarer. Early Mennonites were opposed in principle to keeping records. However, two notable exceptions to the rule exist, the alms books or deacon's records of the Skippack Mennonite Church and the Franconia Mennonite Church, both located in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania in the region of the oldest permanent Mennonite settlement in America. These books are essentially record books containing the annual reports of the alms monies held by the deacon, together with the annual audits of the funds. Fortunately the custom of having all the ministers of the church sign the audit has been maintained from the beginning to the present time. As a result an invaluable record of the names of the ministers of these congregations has been created. John C. Wenger, who is preparing a history of the Mennonite churches of this region, gives a description of the Skippack Alms Book, in this issue, together with a complete list of the names contained therein. In the next issue he will do the same for the Alms book of the Franconia Church.

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The
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Review

APRIL 1936

CONRAD GREBEL, THE FIRST LEADER OF THE SWISS BRETHREN (Anabaptists)

II.

Grebel's Study in Paris

HAROLD S. BENDER

VI

Grebel's Study in Paris, October, 1518, *to June,* 1520

About the middle of June, 1518, Conrad Grebel, in company with his good friend and teacher Vadian, suddenly left the city of Vienna to return to his home in Zurich.[1] A number of things indicate that the departure was quite sudden. Both men left their books behind,[2] and Grebel failed to make arrangements for the further payment of his stipend which was valid for one more year.[3] Vadian found it necessary to return to Vienna in November, 1518, to make a final settlement of his affairs which had been left in a somewhat

1. See page 2 below for determination of the date.

2. In a letter dated Sept. 26, 1518, Grebel requests Vadian to bring his books from Vienna on his journey thither. *Vad.BrS.* II, 203. He repeats the request from Paris, Oct. 26, 1518, "Meam librarium Viennae relictam," *Vad.BrS.* II, 205. Again in a letter to Myconius from Paris, June 19, 1519, he mentions his books and complains that he has written to Clivanus about them ten times without result, *MQR.* II, p. 232. George Binder reports to Vadian that the books which had been left behind by Vadian, had fortunately been saved from a fire, July 26, 1518. *Vad.BrS.* II, 196.

3. Grebel gives instructions concerning this to Clivanus through Vadian in a letter to Vadian from Paris, Oct. 26, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 196. George Binder, rather than Clivanus, evidently drew the remainder of Grebel's unpaid allowance in Vienna according to a statement made by Jacob Grebel in his trial, October, 1526. Egli, *Aktensammlung,* No. 1050, p. 497.

confused state by his sudden departure.[4] There is evidence, however, that Vadian had been considering for some time a permanent change in residence from Vienna to St. Gall. Pressel believes that Vadian's decision in 1516 to study medicine was due to his serious consideration of a plan to settle in St. Gall as a physician.[5] In February, 1518, Ursinus was already protesting against Vadian's plan to leave Vienna.[6] Perhaps the suddenness of the actual departure was due to the plague which had just begun to ravage the city.

Why Grebel was ready to return home with Vadian at this time is not quite clear. In his letter to Zwingli a year earlier (1517) Grebel had expressed a desire to go to Paris in order to benefit by the instruction of Glarean.[7] Another bit of interesting evidence is found in the records of the trial of Jacob Grebel, Conrad's father, in October, 1526, where he was charged with having received an illegal French pension. Jacob Grebel admits that French legates had offered him money for his sons in the year 1516.[8] Other witnesses asserted that the father had brought Conrad home from Vienna in order to secure the French pension which was greater than the imperial stipend which Conrad had in Vienna. One witness went so far as to say that Conrad had mentioned his father's plans to this effect when he was a student in Vienna. However, Jacob Grebel denied that he had called Conrad home from Vienna. The records of the trial simply say "the son came home and took the larger pension." George Binder testified that he already knew in Vienna of Conrad's plan to go to Paris where he was to receive 300 crowns annually. The evidence points strongly in the direction that Jacob Grebel had secured a three-year pension of 300 crowns a year for his son from the French king as early as the year 1516 and that he had reported this to the son. However, it is not clear that Conrad had accepted this pension while he was still in Vienna or that he had already decided to go to Paris at that time. In fact there is considerable evidence to the contrary. For instance Conrad Grebel was among the young men of Zurich who made application in the summer of 1518 for one of the four pensions which the pope annually awarded to Zurich.[9] Furthermore Jacob Grebel testified in his trial that he had endeavored to secure an appointment for his son from the papal

4. See various letters in *Vad.BrS.* between November, 1518 and July, 1519.
5. Theodor Pressel, *Joachim Vadian*, p. 17f.
6. Kaspar Ursinus to Vadian, Feb. 11, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 462.
7. Grebel to Zwingli, Sept. 8, 1517, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 64.
8. For these and the following statements see Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 1050, "Nachgang über Jakob Grebel," pp. 496-500.
9. *Zwingli Werke* VII, 63, note 3, with proofs.

legate Pucci, who was papal legate in Switzerland from August, 1517, to June, 1521, but that his application was too late, and that Pucci had therefore offered as a substitute to give the son 30 guilders, and to take him with him to Italy and to see that he would be provided for at Bologna or elsewhere.[8] It is difficult to believe that Grebel had already decided in Vienna to go to Paris if he was trying to secure funds to go to Italy in the summer of 1518. Grebel himself says that the reason for his return home from Vienna was that his father had been disturbed by the reports of serious brawls in which his son had been involved and in which he at one time had been in danger of his life because of a serious wound, and had requested him to come home.[10] It is probable that various factors contributed to the decision to leave Vienna, not the least being the desire of the young student to return home after a three-years absence. Conrad's cousin, young Johann Leopold Grebel, had already left Vienna for Paris the previous year 1517.[11]

The time of the arrival in Zurich from Vienna can be fixed with considerable certainty as the middle of July, 1518. The travelers must have reached St. Gall about July 10 according to statements which Conrad made in his letter to Vadian from Zurich July 23, 1518, in which he says that the Grebel family had been waiting for some time for Vadian's visit, and recalls with pleasure his visit at Vadian's home in St. Gall. Grebel probably left Vienna about June 25 and arrived in Zurich about July 15, 1518.[12]

One of Grebel's first concerns after his arrival in Zurich was to establish contact with the Swiss humanists in the city and vicinity. He hoped to have three of these great men as guests in his house at the same time, Myconius, Vadian, and Zwingli.[13] Myconius had come to the Grossmünster School in Zurich in 1516 as teacher and had become a good friend of the Grebel family.[14] It is possible that Conrad had already learned to know him in Basel at the time of his study there since Myconius was a teacher in Basel 1514 to 1516. At any rate the acquaintance with Myconius now rapidly ripened into a very intimate friendship, so that henceforth Myconius, next to Vadian, was Grebel's best friend. Conrad's desire to have the three

10. Grebel to Zwingli, Zurich, July 31, 1518, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 93.

11. See Part V, note 20.

12. Grebel to Zwingli, Zurich, July 31, 1518, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 91; *Vad.BrS.* I, 252; Melchior von Watt to Vadian, Vienna, July 16, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* I, 193; Andreas Eck reports that a company of travelers had reached Vienna on the thirteenth day after leaving St. Gall, Eck to Vadian, June 14, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 231.

13. Grebel to Zwingli, July 31, 1518, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 92.

14. Myconius to Vadian, July 23, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 195.

men as guests at the same time was probably not fulfilled. Vadian actually came to Zurich on August 4, 1518 for the promised visit, but it is not probable that Zwingli, who was at that time at Einsiedeln, was also there.[15]

Shortly after Vadian's arrival, the three friends, Vadian, Myconius, and Conrad Grebel, together undertook a very interesting expedition to Lucerne to make the ascent of Mt. Pilatus and to visit the lake which is located high up on the mountain, and concerning which many legends circulated among the people. In Lucerne the necessary special permission of the civil authorities for the ascent was secured, and under the leadership of Johannes Xylotectus (Zimmermann), a canon at Lucerne and an old friend of Vadian and Myconius, the expedition was successfully carried out. Vadian himself briefly reports the expedition in the second edition of his commentary on Pomponius Mela (1522). Strange to say there is no trace of this interesting trip in any of the extant letters of the four participants.[16]

After the return from Lucerne Grebel carried out his previously announced plan to take the cure at Baden, where he also visited his sister Barbara, wife of Leonhart Karli, who apparently lived in the vicinity.[17] About September 20, 1518 he returned to Zurich. In the meanwhile preparations for the journey to Paris had been made, and ten days later on September 30, 1518, he started off.[18] The de-

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15. Vadian to Peter Falk, Zurich, Aug. 5, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* VII, 7.

16. Pomponii Melae, *op.cit.*, Basel, 1522, p. 34. "Ego anno superiore cum mense Augusto Lucernam venissem lacus visendi gratia, a doctissimo, et vere ingenuis moribus praedito Ioanne Xylotecto Canonico Lucernate, humanissime exceptus, et in ipsum postri die montem eductus sum, comitantibus nos Osualdo Myconio, erudito, et pleno ingenui candoris homine, et Conrado Grebelio Tigurino Grebeliae meae fratre spectatissime indolis adolescente." The description fills about half of the page. Bernhard Studer repeats the episode from Pomponius-Mela in *Geschichte der Physischen Geographie der Schweiz bis* 1815, Bern, 1863, p. 64. It is found also in P. X. Weber, *Der Pilatus und seine Geschichte,* Luzern, 1913, pp. 249-251. Weber refers to two other reports: *Gessner's Descriptio montis fracti,* and *Joh. Eus. Nierembergii Hist. Naturalis.* 1635. It is somewhat difficult to determine the date of the ascent. Vadian's manuscript was certainly ready for publication in 1521, since the book appeared in January, 1522. Unless Vadian was mistaken, the ascent took place a year before the writing. Hence only the years 1518 and 1520 come into consideration, since Grebel was in France in 1519. If the sentence in Grebel's letter to Vadian from Paris, Jan. 14, 1520, "Trabem ad Lucernam equites ituri noscere coepisti" refers to the ride to Lucerne in which Grebel participated, the date must be 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 262. In his letter to Vadian from Zurich, Sept. 26, 1518, Grebel mentions his farewell from Vadian, "Cum a me discederes in Elligow," *Vad.BrS.* II, 203. This could not likely have taken place on any other occasion than the return from Lucerne, when Vadian left the party and went to St. Gall. A request to the Staatsarchiv of Lucerne for information regarding the permission from the police for the ascent of Pilatus, which Studer mentions, brought the reply that no record of such permission could be found in the archives.

17. Grebel to Vadian, July 23, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 463.

18. The entire letter to Vadian, Sept. 26, *Vad.BrS.* II, 202-203.

cision to go to Paris, as Conrad says, was his own as well as his father's decision. Apparently the attempt to secure one of the four papal stipends which was awarded to students from Zurich for study in Pisa had been a failure.

The little group which set out on September 30 from Zurich to Paris was composed of Conrad and two other students escorted by George Hedinger, one of his father's servants.[19] Whereas Conrad was going to Paris with the royal stipend of 300 crowns which his father had secured for him as described above,[20] the other two young men were going as appointees of the Zurich council, each having received the award of a royal stipend which had been placed at the disposition of the Zurich council by the king of France. Conrad had also applied for this stipend but had failed to receive it. The route of the journey to Paris is not known except that it passed through Freiburg (Ue.). On October 20, 1518 the group arrived in Paris and took up quarters in Glarean's "Bursa" or pension. The letters of recommendation to Glarean and to the great humanist, Budaeus, which Conrad had brought with him from Vadian, were promptly delivered.[21]

Grebel went to Paris, as is evident from his correspondence, with the primary purpose of enjoying the excellent instruction of his former Basel teacher, Heinrich Glarean. It is probable that he also went with the intention of attending lectures at the University,

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19. It follows from George Hedinger's testimony in Jacob Grebel's trial that he was the escort: "Wiederum zu Hause habe er die Anfrage erhalten, ob er den Sohn Grebels gen Paris führen wolle, und derselben entsprochen. Dieser habe sich zu Freiburg zwei oder drei Tage aufgehalten." Egli, *op. cit.*, No. 1050, p. 498. In his letter of Sept. 26, 1518, to Vadian, Grebel says that two other students from Zurich receiving stipends were to be his traveling companions: "comites erunt duo Tigurini, ex decreto senatus urbis Tigurinae regii stipendiarii," *Vad.BrS.* II 203. According to the decision of the council the two students were "Hans Frey und des Holtzhalben sun," Ms. B.VI, 246, folio 330a, Staatsarchiv Zurich.

20. In the trial against Jacob Grebel and others, Egli, *Aktensammlung,* No. 1050, p. 491-511, various partly contradictory statements are recorded. Jacob Grebel was one of the representatives of Zurich at the Swiss negotiations with the King of France, which led to "Eternal Peace" with France signed Nov. 29, 1516. The negotiations took place in Freiburg i. Ue. See on this point Paul Schweizer, *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Neutralität,* p. 169, et passim. The charge was made against Jacob Grebel that he had arranged for the pension of his son already at Freiburg. Although he denied the charge, it is very likely that he at least began negotiations at that time, although he may not have completed them then. A "glaubwürdiger Zeuge," probably George Binder, reported that he had already learned in Vienna from Conrad himself that he was called home by his father and that he knew then of the annual pension of 300 crowns. Other witnesses asserted that Jacob Grebel had received the money in the name of his son as early as 1517 and 1518.

21. Wilhelm Budaeus reported to Vadian from Paris, Oct. 25, 1518, that four or five days earlier some newly arrived students had delivered to him the letters from Vadian, *Vad.BrS.* VII, 9. The students were doubtless Grebel and his companions, for Grebel wrote to Vadian that he had visited Budaeus. Grebel to Vadian, Paris, Oct. 26, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 205-207.

but Glarean was after all the chief attraction. Already in Vienna in September, 1517, Grebel had spoken of his desire to go to Glarean again,[22] and shortly before his departure from Zurich he wrote to Vadian specifically that he was going to Paris for Glarean's sake.[23] Accordingly he at once enrolled in Glarean's pension and as one of the group of students under the latter's care.[24]

But the high hopes with which Grebel came to Glarean in Paris were soon rudely shattered; he did not long remain in Glarean's house. Before three months had elapsed, on January 1, 1519, he left Glarean, not to return until Jan. 1, 1520, after an entire year had passed[25]. In April, 1520, Glarean himself left Paris for Switzerland where he remained until June, and did not return to Paris until June 20, 1520, which was after Grebel had left Paris permanently.[26] For half of the year 1519 Grebel not only left Glarean but also Paris itself; from July, 1519, to January 1, 1520, he was located in Melun, not far away from Paris, whither he fled to escape the plague.[27] During the same time Glarean was located at Marnay s. Seine. So, of the twenty months which Grebel spent in France from October 20, 1518, to June, 1520, only five months were spent with Glarean, two months at the end of 1518 and three at the beginning of 1520. Nevertheless since the time spent in Glarean's pension and the events and influences connected with his stay there were of considerable importance it will be necessary to seek to describe and understand the conditions there.[28]

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22. Grebel to Zwingli, Sept. 8, 1517, *Zwingli Werke*, VII, 63: "Mallem tamen inter Glareani mei atque tui discipulos scilicet nactus numerari."

23. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 26, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 203.

24. Grebel to Vadian, October 26, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 206: "Glareano commoror eiusque sum et coepulo et auditor."

25. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 212: "Ego nihil territus Kalendis Januarii praeceptorum meum cum suis salutavi discessique." Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 261: "Lutetiam redii, a qua pestem hiems pepulit; Glareani lares nihil illi obstrictus, honesto sodalitie usus, incolo." In a letter to Zwingli, Jan. 2, 1520, Valentin Tschudi says that the group, Grebel, Girod, V. and P. Tschudi, returned to Paris on January 1: "Illic sex actis mensibus tandem at Calendas Januariis ad urbem rediimus," *Zwingli Werke* VII, 249.

26. Grebel to Myconius, July 6, 1520, *MQR.* II, p. 238.

27. See note 102 below.

28. The chief sources for information concerning Glarean and his Swiss boarding school in Paris are 80 letters of the years 1517-1522: 33 written by Glarean himself; 36 written by his students, of which 15 are by Grebel, 6 by Valentin Tschudi, 5 by Peter Tschudi, 5 by Peter Girod, 4 by Johann Jakob Zurgilgen and one by Heinrich Frey; and 11 letters by friends of Glarean, of which 4 are by Erasmus to Glarean, 4 by Nesenus to Zwingli, 2 by Budaeus (one to Vadian and one to Nicholas Beroaldus) and one by Myconius to Glarean. Some scattered references are found in other letters, but they are of little value. Seventy-one of the letters were written from Paris, more than 40 of them at the time when Grebel was there. All but three have been printed. From the letter of recommendation for Glarean (mentioned earlier) directed to the king, dated March 14, 1519, it is evident that Glarean had received from the Swiss council

After three years in Basel (1514-1517) Glarean had finally succeeded, with the help of Peter Falk of Freiburg, and the further aid of two letters of recommendation from the Swiss Confederate Assembly,[29] in securing a pension from the king of France with an annual grant of 150 francs.[30] He thereupon moved to Paris at the end of May, 1517, taking with him many of the pupils whom he had had in his "Bursa" in Basel.[31] In Paris he established this "Bursa" again and conducted it in the same spirit as in Basel. At the same time he did his best to secure a teaching appointment at the University. When the professor of poetry at the University of Paris, Faustus Andrelinus, died (February 25, 1518) he did his utmost to secure the appointment to this vacancy. But his efforts were fruitless, the chair remained vacant.[32] He did however receive the pension of 180 francs which Andrelinus had enjoyed, without being obligated in any way to lecture publicly at the University.[33] But Glarean did not rest with this defeat. When the plan to establish a new humanistic college at the University was being promoted by King Francis I, Glarean hoped to be appointed rector.[34] To this end

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a commission to educate the young Swiss students in Paris and to keep them in discipline. "Quoniam enim a nobis commissionem habet, nostrates scolares et adolescentes, ut dirigat, doceat, et litterarum abundare faciat, studio." *Anzeiger für Schweizer Geschichte, N. F.*, V. 1887, 56b.

29. "Zwei Empfehlungsbriefe der XIII Orte für Glarean" in *Zwingliana* V, pp. 222-3, where the letters are printed. "Ein Empfehlungsbrief für Glarean" in *Anzeiger für Schweizer Geschichte, N. F.*, V., 1887, 56b.

30. In a letter to Peter Falk, March 8, 1519, Glarean states that his stipend gave him an income of 150 francs annually, *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter*, IX, 1902, 171. Rhenanus makes the same report to Erasmus, April 24, 1517, "Glareanus ante Cal. Junias in Galliam se conferet; habebuit annue centum et quinquaginta francos," Allen, *op.cit.*, II, 551.

31. Concerning the change of location see various letters of Glarean and his students and friends of this time, especially Glarean to Zwingli, Aug. 29, 1517, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 59-61, also Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, 20, 21.

32. See Glarean's letters of this time, especially those to Peter Falk, June 22, 1518, July 5, 1518, and March 8, 1518, all published by Joseph Zimmermann, "Sechs unbekannte Briefe Glareans", in *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter* IX, 1902, 157-178.

33. Among other things they demanded of Glarean that he give up his stipend and his Swiss boarding school. To Falk Glarean wrote July 5, 1518, "Si unum est relinquendum mallem equidem poetican relinquere quam Helvetiorum pueros." He reports to his friends on several occasions that he was not obliged to lecture publicly; e. g. to Myconius, June 7, 1519: "Stipendium meum in Fausti mutatum est: verum ad publice legendum non adigor, nisi mihi placuerit." *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, 1928. 187. In the above cited letter to Peter Falk, March 8, 1519, he mentions that the "stipendium Fausti" was worth 180 francs: "Stipendium Fausti peto, non minora facturus quam ille, illud est 180 francici."

34. Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du College du France*, Paris, 1893, pp. 101-124, Allen, *op. cit.*, II, 454-458. See also Louis Delaruelle, *Guillaume Bude, Les Origines, Les Debuts, Les Idees Maitresses*, Paris, 1907, *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, No. 162. Paris, 1893, 101-124, chapter entitled "Le Fondation du College de France", also the letter of recommendation for Glarean from Erasmus to Bishop Poncher, Feb. 14, 1517 (1518) Allen, *op. cit.*, II, 454-458.

he secured a warm recommendation from Erasmus to the King and to his counsellor, Bishop Poncher of Paris, but all his endeavor was in vain. The new college, called the College of Paris, was not established until 1530 and then Budaeus was appointed as the first professor. So Glarean was compelled to be content to remain in Paris as a private scholar with his own private "Bursa" and his private pupils, but without any direct connection with the University. He was, however, not content with this situation. Three times during the years of his stay in Paris he sought to secure a better field of activity in Switzerland.[35] As early as the end of 1518 he made application for the vacancy which had occurred among the canons of Zurich, and on two journeys to his native land (the springs of 1519 and 1520), he undertook by personal solicitation to find a position where he could exercise his talents. He centered his solicitation on Basel where he requested the University to grant him the privilege of establishing a philological institute. All of these plans were fruitless, but finally in February, 1522, he abandoned his private school in Paris and returned to Basel to live, where he was ultimately appointed to the faculty of the University.[36]

In Paris the first location of Glarean's "Bursa" was a house in the Rue St. Jacques in the section of the city where the scholars and printers lived. It was a beautiful and spacious villa with a court and a garden.[37] Here he conducted his school from May, 1517, to the end of 1518, and here Conrad Grebel lived from October to December, 1518. At the end of that year Glarean was compelled to change the location of his school because several of his pupils had given grave offense to the landlord.[38] The new location of the school is not known.

The number of pupils who came to Glarean's school in Paris was not quite so large as had been the case in Basel. Here there were on the average of fifteen to twenty in contrast to the thirty in Basel. Altogether, however, in the course of nearly five years which Glarean spent in Paris, at least forty different students are known to have lived in his "Bursa," many of them as holders of the royal scholarships which King Francis I had promised in the year 1517 to each

35. See Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, 24, 25, 29-32, with proofs.

36. He writes from Basel, March 4, 1522, to Zwingli, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 494.

37. Glarean's letter to Erasmus from Paris, Aug. 5, 1517, is headed "Parrhisiis a vico divi Jacobi", Allen, *op. cit.*, III, 37. The dwelling is described in his letter to Myconius, June 22, 1518, "Domus est mihi pulcherrima cum atrio, hortula, cellario, et propriis aulis pulcherrimis", *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, 177.

38. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 212. "Qui cum offensus esset, Glareanum e sua domo concedere oubet. Soluto hospite migrat, et ego quoque migrabam."

Swiss canton. The names of nearly all of these students are known.[39]

It is difficult to say which of these students became friends of Conrad Grebel since but few of them are mentioned in his letters. Johann Leopold Grebel is mentioned five times, but apparently only because he was a relative, an earlier fellow-student in Vienna and a fellow-citizen of Zurich, not because of any great friendship.[40] On the contrary another citizen of Zurich, Johann Jakob Ammann, whom Grebel mentions twice, became a close friend. Grebel planned at one time to go with him to Italy although the plan was not carried out.[41] Valentin and Peter Tschudi, whom Grebel had known in Basel, are mentioned three times together and several times separately in Grebel's letters.[42] Grebel apparently became quite intimate with them, and when the plague broke out in Paris in the summer of 1519, they with Grebel and Peter Girod of Freiburg took up residence in Melun where they lived for six months.[43] When Grebel left Glarean's pension on January 1, 1519, he took up residence in another house with two other students of Glarean, Johann Heinrich Frei of Zurich and Heinrich Lingk of Schaffhausen.[44] The location of the new residence is not known except that Grebel says it was at the home of a highly respected citizen of Paris, a printer. Two other students are mentioned in Grebel's letters: Jodocus Schwarzmurer of Zug, who once sends a greeting to Myconius;[45] and Johann Jacob Zurgilgen of Lucerne, who is mentioned by Grebel in a letter written from Zurich very shortly after his return from Paris.[46] Zurgilgen, who had left Paris earlier, had been living for

39. Concerning the royal Swiss stipends at Paris see A. Waldburger, "Die Schweizer Studenten in Paris als Pensionäre des Königs von Frankreich" in A. F. Ammann, *Geschichte der Familie Ammann,* II, 17-24, Zürich, 1913; F. Jecklin, "Bündner Studenten an der Pariser Universität als Pensionäre der französischen Könige", *Bündnerisches Monatsblatt,* March, 1925, 65-85; J. B. Kälin, "Zur Geschichte der Freiplätze der eidg. Orte auf der Universität zu Paris und der Schwyzer Studenten daselbst", *Mitteilungen des Hist. Vereins des Kantons Schwyz,* vol. 4, 1885, 63-69; A. Buechi, "Glareans Schüler in Paris 1517-1522", *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, Stans, 1928, 150-208.

40. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 26, 1518; Jan. 29, 1519; Oct. 6, 1519; Jan. 1, 1520; Jan. 14, 1520; *Vad.BrS.* II, 206, 212, 251, 258, 264.

41. Grebel to Myconius, July 18, 1519, *MQR.* II, 244.

42. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 6, 1519; Jan. 1, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 251, 258.

43. See above, note 31. In his letter of July 18, 1519, to Myconius Grebel mentions his plan to leave Paris on account of the plague and to go up the Seine to the tenth milestone, *MQR.* II, 23. On Oct. 6, 1519, he writes to Vadian from Melun and states that he is living there on account of the plague, *Vad.BrS.* II, 251. In the letter of Jan. 1, 1520, to Vadian, Grebel says he has now returned to Paris because winter had driven the plague away. *Vad.BrS.* II, 259. See also Valentin Tschudi to Zwingli, Jan. 2, 1520, where the report is made of the return to Paris on Jan. 1, 1520, after a stay of six months in the country, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 249.

44. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 30, 1519, *MQR.* II, 232.

45. Grebel to Myconius, July 18, 1519, *MQR.* II, 234.

46. Grebel to Vadian, July 17, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 294.

some time in Lucerne. Of all the students in Glarean's "Bursa" it is quite probable that only Ammann, Zurgilgen and the two Tschudis became close friends of Conrad Grebel during his stay in Paris, and none of these except Ammann had any further significance for his life or even any further contact with him.[47]

Since Grebel was introduced to the humanistic circles of Paris through Glarean, it is of importance to know who Glarean's acquaintances and friends in Paris were. The group was not large but it included the leading humanists of the time: William Budaeus, a famous writer and scholar; William Kop, a native of Basel who had lived in Paris for years as the royal physician of King Louis XII and Francis I, and who was also an outstanding humanist scholar; John Lascaris, a native of Greece and professor of Greek at the University; Faustus Andrelinus and Nicholas Beroaldus, both professors at the University, and finally Faber Stapulensis, the Christian humanist, professor at the Sorbonne and forerunner of the Reformation in France. To this circle Glarean had been introduced by letters of recommendation from Erasmus to Budaeus and Bishop Poncher of Paris.[48]

Glarean was very happy to be a friend of these great men. In a letter of August 5, 1517, he wrote to Erasmus about the friendly reception which he had found with Budaeus, Kop, and Faber Stapulensis, particularly with the latter with whom he had already become intimate and whom he esteemed very highly.[49] A few days later, on August 29, 1517, he wrote much the same to his friend Zwingli, mentioning, in addition to his first three friends, Faustus and Andrelinus as well.[50] In two later letters to Zwingli he again mentioned his humanist friends by name. In a letter of January 13, 1519, Budaeus is called his intimate friend;[51] and on March 25,

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47. Jakob Wipf, "Sebastian Hofmeister, der Reformator Schaffhausens," in *Beiträge zur Vaterl. Geschichte*, Bd. 9, Schaffhausen, 1918, 10-12. Also Jakob Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Schaffhausen*, Zürich, 1929, 109.

48. Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, 20, with proofs.

49. Glarean to Erasmus, Aug. 1517, Allen, *op. cit.*, III, 36. "Benigne me excepit Budaeus, humanissime tractavit Copus, familiarissime mihi cognitus Faber Stapulensis: Quem eum inveni quem tu semper una cum Beato amico nostro praecipuo praedicabas, virum certe integerrimum humanissimumque. Episcopum certa de cause nondum adii. Stipendium habeo privatim, nemini quicquem obligatum."

50. Glarean to Zwingli, Aug. 29, 1517, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 59. "Bene acceptus a doctissimis viris Luteciae, inter quos est Budaeus, Copus, Faustus atque Faber Stapulensis." Glarean to Peter Falk, April 21, 1518, "Amant me omnes docti apud Parisios," *Anzeiger für Schweizer. Geschichte* 1880, 338.

51. Glarean to Zwingli, Jan. 13, 1519, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 127, "Budaei hominis eruditissimi et mihi familiarissimi."

1519, he reports that he often visited the Greek, John Lascaris, together with his pupil, J. J. Ammann.[52]

But it is only with Faber Stapulensis among all the humanists of Paris that Glarean really achieved an intimate friendship. As indicated above, the friendship began soon after his arrival in Paris in the summer of 1517, and apparently continued until Faber left Paris at the end of 1519,[53] a period of more than two years. In the letter of August 29, 1517, to Zwingli, Glarean relates that Faber often came to his house and that the two of them spent many happy hours in song and jest, debating together and making sport of the foolish world.[54] On January 13, 1519, he wrote to Zwingli telling him that he had written to the provost and canons of Zurich requesting material for a history of the Zurich martyrs which Faber desired to write; and on the 15th of May, 1519, he reported to Zwingli that upon the advice of Faber he had written the history himself.[55]

Whereas the relationship between Glarean and Faber was warm and intimate, the contact with Budaeus seems not to have led to such a fruitful friendship. This greatest of the French humanists of the time received Glarean into the circle of his friends on the basis of the recommendation by Erasmus, but he never manifested cordiality toward him.[56]

Glarean's pension or "Bursa" in Paris was a faithful continuation in spirit and form of the institution which he had earlier con-

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52. Glarean to Zwingli, March 25, 1519, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 156. "Adest Joannes Lascaris, Graecus, mire eruditus, ad quem ego saepe commeo una cum Ammano me Tigurino."

53. Faber Stapulensis to Agrippa, Nov. 14, 1519, Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs* I, 60. "Sed per hos menses divagatus sum, neque per annum ferme figam pedem Parisiis."

54. Glarean to Zwingli, Aug. 29, 1517, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 59-60. "Faber Stapulensis, quí saepe iam domui meae fuit. Is supra modum me amat, totus integer et candidus, mecum cantillat, ludit, disputat, ridet mecum stultum praecipue hunc mundum, vir humanissimus et benignus."

55. Glarean to Zwingli, Jan. 13, 1519, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 128; Glarean to Zwingli, May 14, 1519, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 169.

56. Budaeus to Erasmus, July 17, 1517, Allen, *op. cit.*, III, 22. Budaeus to Erasmus, Dec. 21, 1517, *ibid.*, 174: "Post prandium venit Glareanus, ut eum salutaret. Cum ego redirem et Episcopus iam in cubiculum interius se recepisset, redii ut eum ipsi notum facerem: cui Glareano quod a me petiit non negavi, tui gratia qui me ita facere iubeo. Parum tamen mihi est molestus, nec nisi raro video hominem." Budaeus to Erasmus, Oct. 31, 1518, *ibid.* 437. Budaeus to Erasmus, April 21, 1518, *ibid.*, 280: "Glareanus tuus in locum Fausti demortui suffectus est, et stipendium habebit. . . . Idem Parisiensi iam notus est et gratus." Budaeus to Erasmus, April 15, 1518, *ibid.*, 288. Budaeus to Erasmus, June 30, 1519, *ibid.*, 625. Budaeus to Nicholas Beroaldus, Feb. 24, 1520, summary in Louis Delaruelle, *Repertoire de la Correspondance de Guillaume Bude*, Paris, 1907, 102-104. Reference in Fritzsche, *op.cit.*, 21. Glarean to Zwingli, Jan. 13, 1519, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 127: "Tota haec hyems in 'Asse' Budaei, hominis eruditissimi et mihi familiarissimi, consumpta ferme est, nisi iam quattuor fere hebdomas aulicor inter homines levissimos."

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ducted for three years in Basel. It was a Latin institute in which the primary subject of instruction was Latin language and literature. Here again as in Basel the language of conversation was Latin and the life of the school was organized as a community on the pattern of the old Roman republic. Almost every letter which Glarean wrote to Zwingli was signed "S.P.Q.R.", i. e. "Senatus Populusque Romanus", followed by a list of the *Praetors, Censors, Quaestors,* and *Aediles.*[57] A very interesting letter of December 10, 1520, has been preserved, in which Glarean describes in detail for his Swiss friend, Jörg Uff der Flüe, his methods of instruction as well as the life in the pension.[58] He says, for instance, "I have only such students about me who wish to learn Latin . . . . a goodly proportion are also learning Greek whom I aid as best I can . . . . For such I am reading at the present time Homer in Greek and Livy in Latin. I am planning also to read several commentaries on Cicero and Caesar in connection with which I shall not fail to work through the fundamental principles of geography and mathematics." It is true, he says, that he was giving some instruction in Greek, but it was not much because he was endeavoring to increase his own knowledge of the Greek language. In fact it is probable that Glarean did not give much time to the formal instruction of his pupils, but rather confined his contribution to their studies to the general supervision of the life of the pension and the inculcation of conversational Latin, so that the young students of necessity had to attend lectures in the philosophical faculty of the University. Glarean himself took advantage of the opportunity to attend lectures at the University and to advance his own learning. He had hoped when he came to Paris to devote himself chiefly to the study of Greek literature but was disappointed at first to find no one of the faculty lecturing in that

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57. E.g., Glarean to Zwingli, July 7, 1520; Nov. 11, 1520; July 4, Sept. 20; Dec. 21, 1521; *Zwingli Werke* VII, 333, et passim. Also in five letters to Myconius, July 7, Oct. 14, Nov. 11, 1520, and April 7, Nov. 28, 1521, in *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, 1928, 192 ff. Also in a letter to J. J. Ammann, Dec. 13, 1520, where the different positions are given, in Ammann, *Geschichte der Familie Ammann* II, 353. In the letter to Myconius, Sept. 1, 1520, Glarean gives details from the life of the S.P.Q.R. such as method of election, etc., *Geschichtsfreund, op. cit.,* 193. He gives it also in a letter to Jörg uff der Flüe, Dec. 10, 1520, in *Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte,* N.F. 12, 1914, 97-100.

58. Glarean describes in detail and in a very interesting style in the above mentioned letter to Jörg uff der Flüe his entire teaching activity and the method of conducting the bursa. A few excerpts are given here in translation. "I have about me only those who are studying Latin. . . . A goodly portion are studying Greek also, whom I aid as best I can . . . wherefore I am at the present time reading Homer in Greek and Livy in Latin. I expect to read several commentaries of Cicero and Caesar, together with which I shall not fail to work through the subjects of geography and mathematics."

field.[59] Before long, however, he found such a lecturer in the person of a noted Greek, John Lascaris, with whom he studied Homer's Odyssey and the orations of Demosthenes.[60] Apparently he took some of his pupils with him to hear Lascaris.

No record of matriculation by Conrad Grebel in the University of Paris has been found,[61] but since Grebel, along with other pupils of Glarean, attended lectures at the University, it is of interest to note something of the atmosphere of the institution at that time. It is true that there were a few humanistic professors on the faculty during the period 1517 to 1522, such as Faber Stapulensis, Beroaldus, Lascaris and others, but they had little influence on the spirit of the University, which was still dominated by late scholasticism in its worst form. Not the least fresh breeze of humanism had penetrated into the Sorbonne with its almost suffocating atmosphere of the ancient learning. There, says Glarean, there were only scholastic sophists, "Gymnosophists," and "thousands of them."[62] Shortly after his arrival in Paris in the summer of 1517 Glarean had attended a public disputation at the Sorbonne and had written his impressions thereof to Erasmus.[63] He says that conditions were so bad that he had altogether no desire to enter the gates of the Sorbonne again or to take part in the life and activity of that institution, for he was sick and tired of farces. He preferred to spend his time at home,

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59. Glarean to Erasmus, Aug. 5, 1517, Allen, *op. cit.*, III, 37. "Caeterum qui Parrhisios veni ut graecarer, spe mea lusus sum maxime. Memo enim est qui insignem autorem Graecum publice legat, neque privatim, quo equidem memini."

60. Glarean to Zwingli, March 25, 1519, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 69, with personalia for Lascaris in note 5. Also Glarean to Zwingli Aug. 29, 1517, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 60. In this letter Glarean also states that he is reading Caesar's Commentaries to his students. Ammann went with him to Lascaris.

61. It is scarcely possible that Grebel was not matriculated at the University of Paris for he says that he attended the lectures of Beroaldus who was one of the professors at the University. (Cf. p. 24, note 121 above) However, all attempts to discover positive evidence of such matriculation have failed thus far. Repeated inquiries directed to the officer in charge of the archives which contain the records of the university of Paris have remained unanswered. No printed lists of matriculates at the university covering this period have appeared. A hopeful examination of Alexander Budinsky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1876, revealed nothing. More promising was Emile Chatelain, "Les Etudiants Suisses de Paris aux XVe et XVIe Siecles", an appendix of 24 pages to his *Les Etudiants Suisses a L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes 1868-1891*, Paris, 1891. This contains the names of many Swiss students at Paris during the years 1447-1574, but excludes explicitly the diocese of Constance because it included non-Swiss territory. But it is just this diocese in which Zurich is located. However, a careful check showed that none of the students in Glarean's "Bursa" appear in Chatelain's lists even though many of them came from dioceses included in his study. Chatelain says that the university records are quite incomplete for this period. Apparently no central matriculation record (Hauptmatrikel) was kept as in the German universities.

62. Valentin Tschudi to Zwingli, June 21, 1518. See note 65.

63. Glarean to Erasmus, Aug. 5, 1517, *loc. cit.*

"singing and studying, diverting himself with his Horace and laughing with Democritus at the world."[64]

One of the best introductions to the actual conditions at the University is a most interesting and highly significant letter which one of Glarean's students, Valentin Tschudi, wrote to Zwingli on June 21, 1518.[65] Tschudi's judgment about the spirit of the University of Paris and about its professors is devastating. The spiritual atmosphere, he says, is absolutely poisonous, and he who comes to Paris is in danger of being destroyed spiritually as though by a wild beast or by a plague. The professors are altogether childish in their attitudes and conduct, and are at the same time filled with a terrible barbarity: they are wild beasts who have become raving and have lost their human nature. Tschudi says that he had decided to accept Zwingli's counsel and to abandon any attempt to secure a master's degree. The professors in Paris are altogether different from the professors in Basel and Vienna; he considers them the most stupid of all men. That Tschudi has not exaggerated the conditions is proved by the fact that modern scholars endorse his description, as for example, Abel Lefranc, one of the best authorities on French humanism, who reprinted in his *Histoire du College de France* the entire portion of Tschudi's letter which concerns the University.[66]

In the light of these conditions it is not surprising that Conrad Grebel profited so little from his four semesters in Paris and that he failed to attain any of the academic degrees, not surprising but exceedingly unfortunate. To get the full force of the situation let us look back a moment to the Conrad Grebel who had made such splendid progress in Vienna. It was in Vienna that he had become an enthusiastic humanist, a devotee of the liberal arts, with a great ambition to fill a worthy place in the service of his native land and city; and it was in this spirit and with this ambition that he had come to Paris. Gifted as few young men of his time, full of enthusiasm and youthful energy, somewhat presumptuous but at heart charitable and generous, equipped with an exceptional training, a master of

64. *Ibid.*

65. Valentin Tschudi to Zwingli, June 21, 1518, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 87-90. Concerning Giustiniani, the first professor of Hebrew in Paris, see *Zwingli Werke* VII, 54, note 4; Allen, *op. cit.* III, 278, note to line 356. Gustiniani lectured 1517-1522. After he left, the chair of Hebrew remained vacant.

66. Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du College de France*, Paris, 1893, 60-63. Lefranc says, p. 60: "Mais le texte le plus probant qu'on puisse citer touchant la veritable situation de l'universite, c'est assurement la lettre de Valentin Tschudi a Ulrich Zwingli. C'est pour le sujet qui nous occupe, une piece d'une importance capitale, qui fournit un tableau exact et complet de l'etat des etudes philosophiques et theologiques dans le monde universitaire de la capitale."

both of the classic languages, well acquainted with the ancient classics, and a good student of geography—this was the Conrad Grebel who came to Paris in 1518 for the climax of his student years. The leading humanists of Switzerland, men like Vadian, Myconius, and Zwingli, had watched his progress with interest. As his good friends they had shared his hopes and ambitions, and sent him to Paris with their good wishes and blessings. Nor did Conrad lack fatherly counsel and advice from these friends, especially from Vadian and Myconius. To them he promised to devote himself zealously and conscientiously to his studies, and to report regularly and frequently concerning his life and progress in Paris.[67] Fortunately for later historians, Grebel did write at least twelve letters from Paris to these two good friends, six to each, in which his life and progress in the French capital and University city is mirrored. In spite of the fact that much of interest is omitted from these epistles they nevertheless constitute most significant documents and afford an otherwise unattainable insight into Grebel's inner life during the two years from 1518 to 1520. Let us see what we can find.

Grebel arrived in Paris October 20, 1518, with letters from Vadian to Glarean and Budaeus, as well as from Myconius to Glarean, and with copies of the new book by Vadian, the commentary on *Pomponius Mela* (published in Vienna, May, 1518), which he displayed with pride to such Paris friends as Johann Jakob Zurgilgen of Lucerne.[68] He was welcomed in a most friendly way by Glarean in the pension and installed as Scipio in the Latin community which it constituted.[69] The long letter which he wrote to Vadian shortly after his arrival, as well as the replies by Budaeus, Glarean, and Zurgilgen to Vadian and Myconius, all of which were taken back to Switzerland by the returning travelers who had accompanied Grebel to Paris,[70] tell us that Grebel had made a good impression in his new environment and that he felt quite at home among the many old friends and acquaintances whom he had learned to know in Basel and Vienna.

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67. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 26, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 205.

68. See note 21 above.

69. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 26, 1518, *op. cit.*, 206.

70. Glarean to Myconius, Oct. 25, 1518, *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, 178; Budaeus to Vadian, Oct. 25, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* VII, 9; Zurgilgen to Vadian, Oct. 26, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* III, 174. Myconius writes Nov. 12, 1518, to Vadian that he has received the letter, *Vad.BrS.* II, 208. J. J. Ammann probably also wrote to his father at the same time, for the father wrote to his son, Dec. 24, 1518, "Din Schriben gethan by Jörg Hedinger, dem stat knecht, han ich wol verstonden, und ist ouch min meinung dich zu schicken gen Basy oder gen Bisa in Italia uf den nechsten herbst nach sant michels tag," *Zwingliana*, Bd. 2, 223. Hedinger was probably the messenger for all of them.

But it was not long until the friendly atmosphere and good feeling with which Grebel began his life in Paris were changed into something quite different. Unfortunate events happened, unwise attitudes were taken, mistakes were made, and all in all a very unhappy situation developed which was to cast a shadow on Grebel's entire experience in Paris and to make him increasingly unhappy. The first of the many long, frequently doleful letters, some of them real confessions, which he wrote to Vadian and Myconius, is dated January 29, 1519.[71] It appears that Grebel had engaged in squabbles with Glarean about the heating of the pension when the cold of winter came on. His old trouble with his feet came back and he felt the need of having a room with a fireplace. Glarean, for some reason or other, failed to understand the young patrician, and tactlessly accused him of effeminacy. Grebel on his part could not bear to be treated in such a schoolmasterly fashion. Unfortunately the two temperaments were too much alike, irritable, passionate, volatile, to deal with difficulties in a conciliatory spirit, so that quite the opposite of conciliation occurred. Grebel felt himself insulted, and Glarean felt his authority challenged. The dispute was broken off, however, by the fact that the entire company had to leave the house because some of the students had insulted the landlord. But in the new house conditions were not much better. Grebel and several of his comrades had secured a stove to provide additional heat, but the stove smoked and the neighbors wanted to throw stove and students together out into the street. This did not increase good feeling. In this irritated atmosphere, frequent and wordy quarrels between Glarean and Grebel occurred—"word-battles" Grebel calls them.

Given the temperament of the two men, the break between them was inevitable. The immediate occasion was a drinking bout at which Grebel conducted himself in an unbecoming manner. In a drunken state he indulged in a "bacchanalia" and finally had to be carried off at Glarean's order and laid on a sofa until he recovered his senses. The whole affair was very offensive to Glarean, and indeed Grebel admits that he was a "Schwein" and deserved punishment. However Glarean's peculiar disposition permanently spoiled the whole situation, for instead of proceeding in an open way to administer the expected discipline, he unwisely chose to sulk in a bad humor and to treat Grebel contemptuously as a child, in fact to completely snub him for a time. He persisted in this tactless attitude even after Grebel had openly acknowledged his error. This scornful treatment so insulted the proud young patrician that he was utterly

71. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1518, *Vad.BrS.* II, 211-216.

unable to contain himself, particularly since one of Glarean's favorites who had fallen into a similar error some time previous was freely excused by Glarean. Had Glarean manifested the proper understanding and tact in Grebel's case and spared the humiliation which he forced upon the young man, he himself would have been spared the humiliation of having the son of the great and influential Zurich junker, Jacob Grebel, contemptuously abandon his pension. But Glarean was no man to exercise moderation and tact. Valentin Tschudi testified to his unfortunate disposition in a letter to Zwingli in 1517 as follows: "You know that whom he loves he loves passionately and whom he hates he hates without bounds."[72] And Vadian himself later expressed his judgment of Glarean thus: "He was not an unlearned man, yet a man of wanton and malicious spirit."[73] And when Vadian later tried to persuade Grebel to be reconciled with Glarean, Grebel flatly refused on the ground that Glarean never abandoned a quarrel once begun as long as he lived.[74] So Grebel left the house and instruction of Glarean after less than three months in his "Bursa."

The breach with Glarean was never healed; all the attempts of Glarean in this direction were fruitless. When he heard of Grebel's intention to leave his house he quite lost control of himself. He would hear nothing of it; he threatened to write to Vadian and to Conrad's father; but nothing helped. Grebel left, taking with him two other Swiss students, Heinrich Lingk of Schaffhausen and Johann Heinrich Frei of Zurich, Frei having earlier on one occasion left Glarean's "Bursa." The three students together with a servant rented a very good apartment with steam heat from a highly respected citizen of Paris, one of the printers of the city.[75] This denouement of the quarrel was very painful to Glarean. He later attempted to justify himself in a letter to Myconius in which he represented the affair in colors quite different from the reality and insisted that he had treated Grebel in a most friendly fashion, claiming that

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72. Valentin Tschudi to Zwingli, July 12, 1517, *Zwingli Werke*, VII, 56. "Novisti Glareani praeceptori nostri in tradendis optimarum disciplinarum praeceptis fidissimi ingenium, ut, cum quem amet, quam impense ei faveat, contra eundem aut quemvis alium si oderit, ut non irae odiique sui (bona eius venia dixerim) metam sistat."

73. Joachim von Watt, *Deutsche Historische Schriften* III, *herausgegeben von Ernst Goetzinger*, St. Gallen, 1879, p. 187.

74. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 6, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 250: "Propterea quod ille simultatem semel indutam nescio quo ministrante Nesso non nisi supremo rogo exuet."

75. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 30, 1519, *MQR.* II, 232: "Apud calchographum civem perhonestum moror mecum est Johannes Henricus Eleutherius Tigurinus qui a Glareano priusquam ego discessit. Probapolitanus quidam et quartus famulus." Steam heat is mentioned in the letter to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 212.

Grebel was alone responsible for what happened.[76] But this supposed friendliness and conciliatory attitude was never in evidence, for Glarean excluded him completely from his instruction. Grebel apparently was not so bitter about the affair as Glarean, for in a letter to Vadian in which he reported the whole affair he remarked that even though Glarean had excluded him from his instruction, yet he would not be able to exclude him from his public lectures at the University in case he should be appointed to the chair of poetry.[77] And after a year had passed, Grebel actually returned to Glarean's pension, apparently driven to it by lack of funds, although he merely took up living quarters in the house and did not become a regular member of the student group there.[78] It is of interest to note that Glarean recovered enough from his temper to greet Grebel five times in letters to Zwingli in the years 1520 to 1522.[79]

The experience which Grebel had with Glarean made him very unhappy. The good hopes with which he had come to Paris to study with Glarean were destroyed. He lost his interest appreciably in his study and seriously considered transferring to one of the Italian universities, to Pisa, Milan, or Bologna. His friend Johann Jakob Ammann had already formulated definite plans for study in Italy, and actually left Paris in the summer of 1519 to spend a short time in Basel and then to proceed to Milan in the autumn to continue his studies.[80] But for some reason Grebel was unable to carry out his wish, probably for lack of finances.

In addition to his difficulties with Glarean, Grebel had other troubles which made life hard. His health was very unsatisfactory, and for a time he was so ill that he doubted his recovery. It was his old trouble that had begun back in Vienna. Another serious difficulty was an empty pocketbook. The two hundred guilders with which he had come to Paris had all been consumed for books, clothing, and board by January, 1520.[81] Apparently this was the last money which he received from his father in payment of the royal

76. Glarean to Myconius, June 7, 1519, *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, 187: "Qod a me hospitio abiisset, de quo hoc unum dico, me benignissime tractasse hominem multisque beneficiis quasi obruisse, illum non modo gratiam non retulisse."

77. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 213.

78. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 261.

79. He sends greetings five times in letters to Zwingli in the years 1520-1522. The letters are to be found in *Zwingli Werke* VII.

80. See *Zwingli Werke* VII, 198, note 1; *Rudolph Collins Autobiographie, loc. cit.;* above part IV, note 11; *Zwingli Werke* VII, 339, note 1; note 70 above; Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 8, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 318: "Ego iam tandem accinger ad iter, Pisas ut petam."

81. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 261: "Pecunia illa tanta, quam discedens a patria habui, omnem ventri, libris, vestibus dedi."

pension, for he often complained in his letters about his lack of funds. In Jacob Grebel's trial in October, 1526, testimony was offered to the effect that the father had retained 600 crowns out of the money which he had received for Conrad's pension.[82] Not only did Conrad fail to receive further remittance from his father, but he even had the misfortune to lose a considerable sum of money in the form of a loan which he had given to a friend who died soon thereafter without paying it back.[83] Conrad's father accused him of having squandered his money in gambling and extravagant living, but Grebel assured his friend, Myconius, that this was not the case.[84] On the contrary he insisted that the cost of living in Paris was enormous. Interesting confirmation of the high cost of living in Paris is found in a letter dated January, 1518, written by another Zurich student in Paris, Johann Heinrich Frei, who addressed a touching appeal to his brother at home for financial help.[85]

But the most serious difficulty which Grebel met in Paris, and which brought him into very serious conflict with his father and almost cost him the friendship of Vadian, was his embroilment in a student brawl on May 1, 1519, in which two Frenchmen were killed. Glarean's students had been involved in several brawls before, but this was the most serious of all, so serious that although Glarean referred to the affair several times in letters to Myconius, Zwingli, and Peter Falk, he endeavored to keep the details as secret as possible.[86] Among the other students involved were apparently Peter Tschudi,[87] and a certain Zophius of Glarus who had participated in a similar serious brawl the year before.[88] Glarean's report

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82. Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 1050, p. 498: "Betreffend seine (Georg Hedingers) Rede zu M. Berger, wie er zuerst 600 und später 300 Kronen dem J. Jakob Grebel gebracht habe." From the statements in Egli, *op. cit.*, p. 496 under (3), it is clear that Conrad Grebel was to receive an annual stipend of 300 crowns. One payment he received and took with him to Paris; 600 crowns the father received, of which the son received nothing.

83. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 14, 1520, *MQR.* II, 235.

84. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 14, 1520, *MQR.* II, 234: "Pecuniae minimam partem ut vix unicam seductores devorarunt."

85. See part V, note 20.

86. Glarean to Myconius, June 7, 1519, *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, 187; Glarean to Zwingli, May 15, 1519, *Zwingli Werke*, VII, 168, where he speaks only of "perturbationes nostras". The most important letters to be considered are the two to Myconius, June 9, 1519, and July 18, 1519, *MQR.* II, pp. 232-233. See also Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 6, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 249.

87. See Glarean to Zwingli, June 7, 1519, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 179, and Peter Tschudi to Zwingli, June 16, 1519, *ibid.*, 187.

88. The quarrel of 1518 is described in detail in the letter to Peter Falk, Aug. 6, 1518, *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter*, IX, 166-167. In his letter to Myconius, June 22, 1518, Glarean complains about Zophius, and in the letter of Oct. 25 to Myconius he says of Zophius: "Ille perditissimus perditissime perdidit," *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, 177-179. In a letter to Peter Falk, March 8, 1519, he pours out his heart:

to Zurich and St. Gall was of such a nature that both father Jacob Grebel and Vadian severely condemned Conrad and took a very harsh attitude toward him.[89]

Conrad Grebel himself does not mention the affair openly, but indirectly discusses it at some length twice in letters to Myconius on June 9 and July 18, 1519, and briefly mentions it in a letter to Vadian of October 6, 1519.[90] These letters give the following picture of the affair. Grebel had fallen into a misfortune so serious as to make him quite uncertain about his future; for temporary safety he had left the city, but planned to go with several of his comrades to the royal court to secure the favor of the king. In this connection, Grebel refers to the fact that banditry was very serious in Paris and describes Paris as a sink-hole of bandits and crime, where common, decent citizens are attacked in their houses and where the life of everyone is in danger. A plausible explanation of the whole affair is that a group of Glarean's students had been attacked by bandits and that when they defended themselves two of the bandits were killed in the battle. Grebel mentions the bandits twice later, once on October 6, 1519, and once on January 14, 1520, in which he speaks expressly of "our war against the bandits."[91]

The affair was a very serious one which certainly brought Grebel and his fellow students into great danger of their lives, particularly since at that time in Paris the feeling between the Swiss and the French was very bad. However, the reports which reached Jacob Grebel and Vadian were certainly exaggerated, particularly in that they unjustly accused Conrad of evil conduct. Their condemnation was scarcely justified. The father wrote a sharp letter to the son on September 24, 1519, which Grebel did not receive until January 9, 1520. In this letter he complained bitterly of the difficulties into which his son had fallen. Twice, he says, Conrad had fallen into serious danger, once in Vienna where he almost lost his hand, and now again in Paris where he almost lost his life; he was fearful lest the son should be executed by the hangman. Five days after receiving this letter Conrad wrote to Myconius that his father's fears were wholly unjustified.[92]

"Credo mihi, iucundissime Petre, hoc anno propter captos iuvenes (Quorum negotium nunc prorsus absolutum est) me tanta passum, tum hac quoque cruce agitatum, ut si antea scissem, me certe pedem in Franciam nunquam moturum fuisse." What teacher has not felt the same at least once? *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter* IX, 170.

89. See Grebel's letters to Myconius and Vadian, of Jan. 14, 1520, cited above.

90. See note 86 above.

91. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 6, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 249. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520: "Bellum illud inter nos et latrones," *Vad.BrS.* II, 262.

92. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 14, 1520, *MQR.* II, 235.

All the available evidence indicates that Conrad Grebel and his fellow-students who were involved in the affair were not guilty of any crime, although the incident for a time placed the whole group of Swiss students, and even the pension of Glarean itself, in very serious danger.[93] Grebel himself had a clear conscience in the whole matter[94] and we learn that none of the students involved was brought to trial or suffered any punishment, since personal intervention of the students themselves as well as Glarean apparently convinced the authorities that there was no premeditated criminal intent.[95] Feeling free about the matter as he did, Conrad could not believe that his father and Vadian would condemn him after they received his letters of explanation. He was therefore quite shocked upon his return home to discover that the attitude of the two men toward him was still harshly negative.[96] The only letter which Vadian wrote to his brother-in-law during the entire time that the latter was in Paris was the one letter in which he severely condemned Conrad for his manner of life, and it was not until personal contact was re-established in St. Gall in the summer of 1520 that his attitude was changed.[97]

Another factor which seriously interfered with Grebel's study in Paris was the plague which ravaged Paris in the summer of 1519. Valentin Tschudi reported in a letter of January 2, 1520, after the epidemic was fairly past, that over 30,000 human beings had lost their lives in the great plague.[98] The plague was raging in Switzerland at the same time.[99] Vadian spent the first six months after his marriage in a country village to escape the plague which was raging in St. Gall[100] and Zwingli himself was seriously stricken in Zurich.[101] In order to escape the plague in Paris, Conrad Grebel and three student friends, Valentin and Peter Tschudi and Peter Girod, fled from the city in the latter part of July, 1519, to the city of Melun, about ten miles up the Seine from Paris where they remained until January

93. Mentioned in a letter from Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *MQR.* II, 235.

94. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 14, 1520, *loc. cit.*

95. See the letters cited above in note 86.

96. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 326.

97. The visit is mentioned in the letter to Vadian of Nov. 7, 1520, *Vad.BrS.*, II, 315.

98. Valentin Tschudi to Zwingli, Jan. 2, 1520, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 249.

99. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 14, 1520, *loc. cit.*

100. See above, part I, note 27. Staehelin reports that the plague came to Zürich about the middle of August and raged there until 1520, cutting down about 2,500 persons in the vicinity of the city, Staehelin, *Zwingli* I, p. 158.

101. Staehelin, *Zwingli* I, pp. 158-159.

1, 1520.[102] Glarean with his pupils went still farther from Paris to Marnay s. Seine where he continued his instruction in Greek.[103]

Thus, his studies interrupted, his pocketbook empty, his health undermined, his whole life in Paris made very unhappy by the difficulties with Glarean, and in addition his future cast under a shadow because of the attitude of his father, the temperamental young Grebel, not yet quite mature in his attitude toward life, was brought to the edge of despair.[104] He had barely returned to Paris from Melun when on the 9th of January, 1520, he received three letters which added still further to his misery, one from his father, one from Vadian, and one from Myconius, all of which criticised him severely. He had apparently lost the confidence of his parents and of Vadian altogether, although Myconius remained his faithful friend. The latter informed Conrad of the serious state of affairs in the parental household; the father could not sleep at night and was so enraged that he threatened to forbid his son the house when he came home. The father in his letter demanded that Conrad leave Paris and return home; along with the messenger who bore the letter he sent twenty scutati of money to pay for the return to Germany. The messenger delivered the letter, but forgot the money, so Conrad would have been unable to return even if he had desired to do so. Moreover, Myconius transmitted a message from Conrad's mother which advised him not to return at once but rather to wait until the plague as well as the father's wrath had moderated.

Under these trying circumstances it is not difficult to imagine the feelings of the young student. Fortunately Conrad himself has made this imagination unnecessary by revealing his inmost heart in two long letters written at the same time, one to Myconius and one to Vadian.[105] The letter to Myconius is a veritable confession which he himself called "a discovery of my innermost being to a physician." As he considered his situation and the condition in which he found himself, Conrad's eyes were gradually being opened to himself and his conduct. For the first time in his letters he complained about the French pension and the difficulties which it brought for him. Apparently the students of Glarean's "Bursa" frequently discussed foreign pensions in a very patriotic spirit and condemned vigorously as traitors to the fatherland all such Swiss who sold their native land

102. See above, note 27.

103. Beatus Rhenanus to Nesen, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus,* 185.

104. See the pertinent letters, cited above, especially Grebel to Myconius, March 7, 1520, *MQR,* II, 236, 237.

105. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 14, 1520, *MQR.* II, 234; Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 261.

for money. Conrad explained that he did not believe that his father had accepted forbidden money and therefore was not to be reckoned among these traitors, but he said enough to make it clear that his comrades had grave suspicions of his father's virtue. To further excuse his father Conrad emphasized the fact that when the French pension was received it was he, Conrad, at that time not a citizen of Zurich, who had accepted the money and not his father. So far as he knew the father had not taken any pension money for himself. Nevertheless, although Conrad believed that his position was legally correct, he felt the moral onus of the situation; he had sold his freedom and his good name for money. In spite of it all he still hoped that this fact would not interfere with an honorable career in the service of his fatherland, and hoped that when he finally came to office he would not be handicapped by the money which he had once received. He insisted that he himself would much rather not have accepted the king's money the last time, and that it was really his father who had led him to do so against his preference. From Conrad's discussion it is clear that he was seriously struggling to do the right and that his conscience was stirring deeply in the whole affair. He went so far as to seriously question whether it was right for him to live in luxury with money which the French King had secured from the poor French people by oppressive taxes.

The whole letter to Vadian from which the above summary has been taken bears evidence of a changed attitude and witnesses to a certain nobility of sentiment which here appears for the first time in Grebel's extant correspondence. The young Grebel was maturing, he was beginning to take life seriously, he was becoming religious, experiencing spiritual awakening. Among other things he began to think seriously about death in view of the state of his health and the plague. As he reflected, suddenly a remarkable sentence appeared in his letter to Vadian: "I do not ask for death, but I would not fear death if it comes to me, for I am prepared to meet Christ." What did Grebel mean by this strange sentence? Had he learned something of the new gospel of faith in Christ? Hardly. Had he suddenly adopted a certain religious mysticism? Possibly. However, the sentence is merely an isolated expression and it is impossible to derive from it alone a general judgment about Grebel's inner development. Caution is indicated also by the fact that in the very same breath, before the sentence was finished, Grebel said that in no case could he request the gods for a lengthening of his life. Only a humanist could make such an expression. Nevertheless, it is clear that through the bitter experience of suffering, the drinking of the bitter

cup of life that had been poured out for him in these months, Conrad Grebel had begun to feel the seriousness of life and its issues. He was learning that there was something more important in life than money, than humanistic study, than pleasures, than a frivolous living without cares and without restraint; and this he was learning not from the humanists of Paris and not out of books. Whether he learned any of it from such a one as Faber Stapulensis with his Christian mysticism is difficult to believe. There is no trace of such influence in the available sources.

In this serious and somewhat melancholy frame of mind, which is witnessed by the letter to Vadian and also by the letter to Myconius, both of which were written in January, 1520, Grebel continued for the remaining few months of his stay in Paris until his return home to Zurich in June, 1520. Altogether without funds, and almost without friends, he was compelled to go back to Glarean's "Bursa" for a place to live, although he did not actively participate in the life of the place and had no obligation to Glarean.[106] Myconius was the only friend who remained faithful to him in this time of need, and two letters which Grebel addressed to him March 7 and April 13, 1520, witness eloquently to the depth of the friendship as well as to the depth of appreciation with which Grebel cherished the friendship.[107] Grebel clearly felt the difference between the attitude of Myconius and that of his father and Vadian.

As the weeks slipped by, the clouds became darker, and Grebel's melancholy was intensified. By the middle of April he felt himself nearer to shipwreck than to the harbor. As a last desperate expedient he sent a letter to his father with Glarean, who was just then undertaking a journey to Switzerland.[108] He was a sick and weary young man who knew not what the morrow might bring to him.

About this time Grebel wrote to Vadian in a somewhat different tone than he had written to Myconius, giving expression to his bitter disappointment at Vadian's treatment of him. The difference in the two letters is quite noticeable. In view of all that had happened it is not surprising to find Grebel accusing Vadian of having failed to

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106. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *loc. cit.*

107. Grebel to Myconius, March 7, 1520, *MQR.* II, p. 236: "Salvum te esse amicorum omnium mihi maxime necessarium." Grebel to Myconius, April 13, 1520, *MQR.* II, 238: "Conradus Grebelius, tuus amiculus, tui omnium amantissimus."

108. Grebel calls himself a "Naufragus" in the letter of March 7, 1520, to Myconius, *loc. cit.* In the letter of April 13 to Myconius he says "Naufragium me proprius sit quam portus timeo." In the same letter he writes concerning the letter to his father, "Cum Glareanus hinc solveret et vix paternas litteras exarassem."

help him. The reader will sympathize with Grebel when he says, "you should have known me and should have recognized my need instead of condemning me."[109] The attitude of Vadian is indeed somewhat difficult to understand. It is true that he remained away from home six months after the marriage in August, 1519, true also that a honeymoon is no time to solve difficult problems; and it is probable that he had spent the winter of 1518 to 1519 in Vienna. But could he not have written more than one letter to his intimate friend during the two years that he was in Paris?[110] Could he not have rendered a better service to a struggling young student than to condemn him and to threaten a break in his friendship the first time a serious test came? Was he justified in abandoning one who was about to be shipwrecked?

The same criticism can justly be offered on the attitude of Conrad's father. It can be said without contradiction that the father failed completely in his parental obligations. Conrad felt this keenly. A bitter tone rings through his words in his letter to Vadian of January 14, 1520, when he was first realizing his father's attitude. "He (the father) does not know what I have to suffer on account of him, he who made me dependent for my support first upon the emperor and then upon the French king. If he had taught me to live within my means, to live on the basis of what one earns for himself no matter how small it is, I mean to live after the custom of our fathers, and if he had not taught me as a young bird to spread my wings too far, (as he is still doing with his second son so that my brother in the nest at home is spreading his wings only to fall a prey to the vultures), then I would not be in the place I am today. I would not have the bad reputation which I am compelled to bear publicly and privately."[111]

This expression from Conrad is no light-hearted alibi to which a son might take refuge to excuse himself for his own shortcomings, although there may have been a natural tendency in this direction. One is rather compelled to admit in the light of all that is known about Jacob Grebel, that Conrad's bitter accusation was justified. Jacob Grebel was unable to rear his son in any other spirit than that in which he himself lived, and he himself lived entirely too much in a world in which money meant everything. He never treated his son justly in money matters. The French pension which was due to his

109. Grebel to Vadian, April 13, 1520: "Cognoscendus eram, non mittendus."

110. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1520: "illud unius tuae epistolae verbum", *Vad. BrS.* II, 326.

111. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *op. cit.*, 262.

son he took to himself and never paid the son more than a third; two-thirds he kept and used in his business. And when Conrad was married in 1521 Jacob refused to pay the usual dowry, merely out of passion, and was compelled by the intervention of mediators to arrange his financial obligations to Conrad through a contract, which he later failed to observe.[112] Repeatedly after the contract was drawn up Conrad attempted in vain to compel his father to pay the sums which he owed him. Ultimately the amount reached the total of approximately 1,000 guilders, and after the death of Conrad, Jacob Grebel was forced to admit before the court that he still owed a large sum to the orphaned children of his son.[113] And during the years that Jacob Grebel owed his son these large amounts of money which he refused to pay, the son was compelled to live in desperate poverty. How often in the years 1520 to 1525 Grebel complained in letters to his brother-in-law[114] Vadian about his poverty, his desperate need.

The last letter which Grebel wrote to his father from Paris (April, 1520) apparently led to the desired result, for at the beginning of July Conrad was back home again in Zurich, from whence he wrote a letter to Myconius on July 6.[115] Since the journey from Paris to Zurich usually lasted about two weeks at that time, Grebel probably left Paris about the middle of June.[116]

The reunion with the parents was not so painful as Conrad had feared; the father smiled, the mother wept. Letters written to Myconius shortly after the return testify to a genuine love for the parents. The reconciliation which had been prepared by Myconius stirred Grebel's gratitude, and the touching poem praising the friendship to Myconius which Grebel included in the first letter which he wrote after his return is a vivid evidence of the depth of feeling which infused the relationship between the two men.[117]

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112. See part II, p. 20; Egli, *Aktensammlung,* No. 1050, p. 459: "H. Heinrich Utinger erzählt, wie er, als Konrad Grebel durch seine Heirat den Unwillen des Vaters erregt, zwischen Vater und Sohn einen Vertrag aufgesetzt habe. Nachher habe ihm aber Konrad im Kreuzgang des Münsters geklagt, wie ihm der Vater nichts gebe."

113. Jacob Grebel's statement in the trial, "die (Summe) sye er sinen (Konrads) Kinden noch schuldig." Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 1050, p. 496.

114. E. g., Grebel to Myconius, March 7, 1520, in which he makes many complaints concerning his poverty. "Tam pauper ut vix victum inde habeam, corradere potuissem." *MQR.* II, 236.

115. Grebel to Myconius, July 6, 1520, *op. cit.*, 238.

116. Peter Tschudi writes to Vadian from Paris, June 20, and apologizes for writing; he says he is doing it only at the urgent request of Conrad Grebel. Grebel's final departure from Paris was probably the occasion for the letter, and it may be assumed that Grebel took the letter with him. *Vad.BrS.* II, 287.

117. Grebel to Myconius, July 25, 1520. "Quod me ames non vulgari more iamdudum mihi persuasum est, quippe qui parentem indignantem mihi tam belle

In sharp contrast to this was the unsatisfactory relation with Vadian which has already been mentioned. In Grebel's first two letters to Vadian after his return in July 13 and 17, 1520, the tension is quite evident. Grebel hopes that at least an "armistice in their war" will be possible, since he at least was not so aroused in France that peace would be impossible from his point of view.[118]

Grebel's student years were now ended, even though he still hoped for a period of study in Italy as will be seen later. It is therefore fitting to pause to inquire at this point what the years in Paris meant for Conrad Grebel. It is clear first of all that the splendid hopes with which he went to Paris were not fulfilled. Partly responsible for this is the fact that his study was interrupted twice and that the original plan to remain with Glarean could not be carried out. Only two months were spent under Glarean's instruction and six months were spent altogether outside of Paris at Melun.

Unfortunately Grebel reports very little about the nature of his studies in Paris.[119] He says nothing at all about the instruction which he received from Glarean, and the only clear information which can be found in his letters about other lectures which he heard at the University is contained in a letter of January 29, 1519, written to Vadian shortly after his departure from Glarean's "Bursa."[120] In this letter he remarked incidentally that he was hearing the lectures of Nicolaus Beroaldus on Quintilian's "Institutiones Oratoriae" in which the lecturer used Valla's commentary on Quintilian. Grebel could not have heard the lectures long, for as early as March, 1519, Beroaldus left Paris to engage for some time in the service of the king of France.[121] In the same letter to Vadian, Grebel mentioned

placaveris et intercessione sedula propitium reddideris", *MQR.* II, 239. The poem mentioned in the sentence following is found in the letter to Myconius of July 6, 1520, *ibid.*

118. Grebel to Vadian, July 17, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 294. "Nec ego sic commotus in Gallia fui, ut nullar, si futurum fuisset bellum, a bello nostra induciae sperendae fuissent, quemadmodum tu sperabas nolim dicere timebas." In this letter he also mentions Vadian's question, whether Grebel would become his enemy, "an perduellis futurus fuerim Vadiano."

119. See note 61 above regarding the question whether Grebel was enrolled as a student at the university of Paris.

120. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 213.

121. Louis Delaruelle, *Nicole Berault, Notes biographiques suivies d'un Appendice sur plusiers de ses publications, (Etudes sur l'Humanisme Francais)* in *Le Musée Belge, Revue de Philologie Classique, Treisieme Année,* 1909, pp. 253-312. This monograph is an enlargement of a monograph with the same title, which appeared in *Revue des Bibliotheques,* 1902, 12. *Année,* pp. 420-444. Delaruelle, *op. cit.,* p. 273, shows that Beroaldus made an ambassadorial trip to England in the fall of 1518, from which he returned at the end of October. He then taught at the University until the middle of March, 1519. Following that he made another ambassadorial trip to southern France in the service of Bishop Poncher. Hence Grebel could hear Beroaldus from the beginning of November, 1518, until the middle of March, 1519.

an interpretation by Budaeus of a passage in Pliny which was different from Vadian's interpretation in Vienna. It is hardly possible that this could refer to lectures by Budaeus in the University, for Budaeus was not at this time a professor. Except for these two humanists, Beroaldus and Budaeus, none other of the scholars of Paris are mentioned in Grebel's letters. It is possible that Grebel heard lectures by Professor Lascaris, for we know that Glarean and his young friend Ammann, also a close friend of Grebel, attended his lectures.[122] Valentin Tschudi, one of Grebel's close friends, was studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in 1517, and on January 16, 1519, he wrote to Zwingli that he was enjoying the Hebrew instruction of the famous new professor of Hebrew, Bishop Augustinus Guistiniani of Nebbio.[123] It is altogether possible that Grebel also studied Hebrew with Guistiniani but there is no direct evidence to this effect. In 1523 Grebel knew enough Hebrew to write the name of his second son, Joshua, in Hebrew letters in a letter to Vadian but so much Hebrew he could have learned from Pellican under whom he probably received Hebrew instruction together with Zwingli and others in 1522.[124] One might speculate whether Grebel heard Faber Stapulensis, but this is scarcely possible since Faber lectured on theology at the Sorbonne. Faustus Andrelinus, the professor of poetry, had died as early as February 23, 1518, nine months before Grebel arrived in Paris.

Grebel's interest in the newest publications of the humanist press is evident from the fact that he bought new books for his friends Myconius and Vadian. For instance, in January, 1519, he sent to both men a copy of the book by Petrus Pontanus, *De Helvetiorum Fuga*.[125] In June of the same year he secured for My-

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According to Delaruelle the printer Badius had announced that he would print Beroaldus' lectures on Quintilian's "Institutiones". This however did not take place. Delaruelle's Monograph on Beroaldus is still the best on the subject. It is interesting to notice that he uses Grebel's letter of Jan. 29, 1519, as proof for the teaching activity of Beroaldus, and that beyond this he knows almost nothing to report about his lectures. An evaluation of Beroaldus is found in *Musée Belge*, p. 285. According to this account, Beroaldus was not on the same height as Budaeus and Faber Stapulensis, but was nevertheless a good philologian, and distinguished himself as a teacher of Latin and Greek as well as a learned editor of the ancient classics. He was not religiously inclined, but, like Budaeus, was for a time favorable toward Luther, although he finally remained with the old faith.

122. See above note 52 and note 60.

123. Zwingli to Vadian, *Vad.BrS.* I, 194; see note 65 above regarding Guistiniani.

124. See part II, note 12; also Zwingli to Myconius, Aug. 26, 1522, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 568. Grebel is mentioned here by Zwingli as participating in the class in Greek and Hebrew under the instruction of Ceporin. Also *Geschichtsbuch, op. cit.*, p. 34.

125. Grebel to Myconius, Jan. 30, 1519, *MQR.* II, 232 and Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad.BrS.* II, 216.

conius copies of *Juvenal* and *Valerius*,[126] and promised to secure for him a copy of the new edition of *Asconius Pedianus* as soon as it should appear.[127] He remarked in a letter to Myconius of March 7, 1520 that there were many beautiful and cheap books on the market in Paris in both languages, Latin and Greek, among them publications of the Aldine Press in Venice. A very beautiful edition of *Homer* in Greek was to be had just at that time at a very low price, actually less than two scutati.[127] On his return home to Switzerland Grebel took with him as a present for Vadian a copy of *Asconius Pedianus*.[128]

It is important to know the character of French humanism as it existed in Paris at this time and whether Grebel was influenced by it. In general it may be said that the Parisian humanism of 1520 was essentially of the Erasmian type and not of the Italian.[129] The leading men were all friends of Erasmus and labored in his spirit for a reform of French life and culture in theological, religious, and moral aspects, and for an improvement in education. The outstanding humanists of the time, men like Budaeus,[130] Faber Stapulensis, [131] and Badius,[132] were all men of solid character and example, men of earn-

126. Grebel to Myconius, June 9, 1519, *MQR.* II, 232.

127. Grebel to Myconius, March 7, 1520, *MQR.* II, 237. Myconius had also expressed appreciation for the pamphlets sent him by Grebel.

128. Grebel to Vadian, July 17, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 292, "Ut comite mea Ileade et tuo munere Pediano ad te venirem."

129. Arthur Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance,* Cambridge, 1918, p. 596. Tilley gives one of the best descriptions of early French humanism, with a summarizing critique in the closing chapter. The best French work on early humanism in France is A. Renaudet, *Prereforme et Humanisme a Paris Jusqu'a* 1517, Paris, 1916. L. Geiger's "Studien zum französischen Humanismus" in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Literatur der Renaissance 1886-1887,* are of minor importance. Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Reforme* II, Paris, 1909, has a good chapter, "La Renaissance Francaise" and one, "L'Humanisme Chretien". See also Ernst Walser, "Uber das Wesen der französischen Renaissance" in *Gesammelte Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Renaissance,* Basel, 1932.

130. The best work on Budaeus is Louis Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé, Les Origines, Les Debuts, Les Idées Maitresses,* Paris, 1907 *(Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes,* Nr. 162) ; and the same author, *Repertoire Analytique et Chronologique de la Correspondance de Guillaume Budé,* Paris, 1907. Jean Plattard, *Guillaume Budé (1468-1540) et les Origines de l'Humanisme Francaise,* Paris, 1923, gives a good but very short resume (only 38 pages). On the other hand Eugene de Budé *"Vie de Guillaume Budé",* Paris, 1884, is disappointing. The chapters on Budaeus in Tilley, *op. cit.,* and Renaudet, *op. cit.,* are excellent.

131. There is no satisfactory biography of Faber Stapulensis. The best is still the old one published in 1852, by K. H. Graf, *"Jacobus Faber Stapulensis"* in *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie,* 2-86, and 165-237, but it is weak on Faber as a humanist. The chapters in Tilley and Renaudet are very good. See also Imbart de la Tour, *op. cit.* III, Livre I, Chapitre III, "Lefevre d'Etaples".

132. For Badius the standard work is Philippe Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius,* 3 volumes, Paris, 1908. Badius was one of the greatest figures of French humanism, a scholar, editor and publisher of Latin Classics, with residence in Paris after 1503. See also the chapters in Tilley and Renaudet. Tilley calls him "at Gaguin's death the

est and praiseworthy motives. There were a few of the typical Italian humanists in Paris with their scandalous manner of life, such as Balbi and Faustus Andrelinus, but their number was small and their example was not influential. Faber Stapulensis was one of the finest and noblest spirits of this entire period of European culture. Not only he but the others also, like Budaeus and Badius, cherished the dogmas of the Christian Church and endeavored to maintain a Christian ethic. Consequently humanism in Paris did not take on an anti-religious or anti-ecclesiastical form. On the contrary, a certain half-mystical, pre-reformation piety manifested itself in these circles. Faber, for instance, who was somewhat shy, and cautious almost to the point of fearfulness, had already taken a position against justification by works and for justification by faith in his commentary of the epistles of the apostle Paul, which he published in 1512,[133] although he certainly did not have the depth of understanding of this fundamental principle of the Reformation which Luther had, for as late as 1519 he still held to a superstitious worship of images and saints.[134]

There is evidence that quite early the circle of scholars who gathered around Faber and Budaeus welcomed with joy the message which Martin Luther was sending out into a surprised world. However, Grebel had left Paris before any significant writings by Luther reached that city, so that he could scarcely have been influenced by any attitudes induced by Luther's writings, although, it is true that early pamphlets by Luther were circulated in Paris soon after they were published, and that these pamphlets reached the circle in which Glarean moved. On May 17, 1519, Peter Tschudi, a close friend of Grebel, wrote to Beatus Rhenanus in Basel that the

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most distinguished humanist in Paris, with the exception of Lefevre d'Etaples". It is possible that Conrad Grebel lived with him in the first half of 1519. See note 94 above.

133. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV. . . . cum commentariis,* Paris, 1512.

134. John Viénot, "Y-a-t-il une Reforme Francaise anterieure a Luther?" in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francais,* 1915, 101, where the posed question is answered in the negative. Viénot reports a statement by Farel in his "Epitre a tous Seigneurs" as follows: "il faisait les plus grandes reverences aux images qu'autre personnage que j'ai connu. . . . Il demeurait dans la vieillesse papale." See also Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs,* I, p. 239, note 38: "Deux ans apres avoir publiè son commentaire aux saint Paul, Lefebre etait encore plongé en idolatrie et en grosse ignorance. Il n'en sortit que peu a peu et lentement, sous l'influence du mouvement inauguré par Luther et qui, penetrante en France, y fit eclore et fructifier les germes d'emancipation religieuse qui étaient demeurés jusque—la chez Lefevre, vivants sans doutes, mais cachés. . . . On le voit encore en 1519, admettre et defendre le culte des saints et l'efficace des priéres pour les morts." On this question see also L. v. Muralt: "Ueber den Ursprung der Reformation in Frankreich" in *Festschrift für Hans Nabholz,* 1934.

writings of Luther were much read by the scholars of Paris.[135] Luther himself had heard much the same report as early as April 14, 1519.[136] Nevertheless there is no direct evidence that Glarean or any of the students in his "Bursa" had read any of Luther's writings at this early date. The first mention of Luther in Glarean's correspondence occurs in a letter to Myconius dated October 15, 1520, four months after Grebel had left Paris.[137] This letter indicates a neutral attitude with a critical tendency. The second mention of Luther occurs in a letter of April 7, 1521, where the attitude is somewhat more friendly.[138] Finally in a letter of July 4, 1521, to Zwingli, Glarean says "Luther is magnificent," and mentions that he had read Luther's pamphlet on "The Babylonian Captivity" three times with enthusiasm.[139] Later Glarean took a position against Luther and fell back into a thorough-going support of the old faith like Erasmus did. No doubt the latter's influence was decisive for him. In view of the late mention of Luther in Glarean's correspondence it is exceedingly doubtful that Grebel was influenced in any way in regard to Luther through Glarean. More than that it is very doubtful whether Grebel during the time of his stay in Paris interested himself at all in Luther and his writings or for that matter in any religious question.[140]

It is difficult to come to any clear picture of the stage of spiritual development which Grebel had reached when he returned home from Paris in the summer of 1520. The influence of Parisian humanism as Grebel found it was certainly constructive and of a quite different spirit from that of Vienna. Here the spirit was definitely Christian, as has been mentioned; here there was interest in ethical and religious reform as well as in the old classics and in geography, in contrast to the limited interests of the humanists of Vienna including Vadian. Here in Paris, Grebel met again the spirit of Erasmian humanism which he had already learned to know in a very modest way in Basel. But he certainly was not influenced to

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135. Peter Tschudi to Beatus Rhenanus, May 17, 1519, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus,* Leipzig, 1886, p. 157.

136. Frobenius to Luther, April 14, 1519, Ludwig Enders, *Martin Luthers Briefwechsel,*——,p.——

137. Glarean to Myconius, Oct. 15, 1520, *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, p. 195.

138. Glarean to Myconius, April 7, 1521, *Geschichtsfreund* LXXXIII, p. 200. Glarean to Zwingli, Nov. 1, 1520, *Zwingli Werke,* 362: "Nulli libri avidius emuntur."

139. Glarean to Zwingli, July 4, 1521, *Zwingli Werke,* VII, 461, "Magnus ille est. . . . Ego sane Lutheri pene nulla habeo opera, excepta unica 'Captivitate Babylonica', quae mihi tam impense placuit, ut illam ab initio ad finem usque ter magna ammiratione legerim."

140. See the collection of citations on this subject in Fritzsche, *op. cit.,* pp. 33-40.

any very great extent by this humanism. His life in Paris was too much one of trouble and trial to permit him to develop in a normal and peaceful manner in the direction of French Erasmian humanism. More than that, his poor health and his six months' absence from Paris on account of the plague, seriously interfered with his life. This period of Grebel's life must be reviewed rather as a period of storm and stress, a period which began in Paris and continued until his marriage and conversion in January, 1522. We must conclude that no substantial progress was made in humanistic studies or in the humanistic philosophy of life during his stay in Paris. Rather the development came in a maturing of his personality, in a reflection over the meaning and value of life to which he was driven by his trying experiences. And when Conrad Grebel stopped and looked within, he found that his life was empty and worthless; henceforth he swung back and forth between a fatalistic resignation and an incipient comprehension of something better, an awakening to a new life. But this awakening was not to come until later after he had come back to Zurich and had listened to the preaching of Ulrich Zwingli and heard from him both in sermon and in personal contact the message of the new gospel of the redemption of Christ which comes by faith. It was only then that he found a happy solution of the problem of life which he faced for the first time squarely in Paris. Only then did the miserable, unhappy, and dissatisfied youth find himself,—the youth who had come to Paris with the enthusiasm of his new humanistic attainments in Vienna only to lose there his happiness as well as his previous philosophy of life; only then did he come to an integrated personality and to a basis for living upon which he could build a life with a worth-while content and with a motivation which permitted him to exercise all his talents and ability. The great lesson that he learned in Paris for the first time was that he would have to make his own way in life without depending upon the support of others, for there he learned what it meant to be forsaken by those whom he counted as nearest and dearest, and to be compelled to depend upon himself. But this lesson of spiritual independence Conrad Grebel had not learned in its fullness in Paris, and until he learned it the conflict in which he was involved with his father and his family was to lead him into still more serious trials, and to make his inner unhappiness still more complete. The next two years 1520-1522 had still heavier burdens in store for him.

VII

Conrad Grebel in Zurich and Basel, July, 1520, *to February,* 1522

At the beginning of July, 1520,[1] the unhappy young Grebel returned to the paternal roof in Zurich, tired and weary of life, full of uncertainty and anxiety about the future, and feeling that life was hard and dark ahead. Six years before, in the autumn of 1514, he had left that roof full of youth and enthusiasm, riding out into the world equipped with everything that heart could desire—money, social prestige, talent. At that time the future lay bright and large before him: what might not this promising son of a leading patrician family of Zurich with his attractive, energetic personality and strongly developed nature accomplish in the years ahead. But now after six years of university study in Basel, Vienna, and Paris this same youth returned broken to his starting point, failing to find a friendly reception even in his own family.[2] His parents had lost confidence in him, and in the city of Zurich men were shaking their heads when the name Grebel was mentioned because of the foreign pensions in which the family was involved, for even at that early date the wave of patriotic sentiment was running strong against foreign pensions, and those who persisted in the old but now reprobate custom soon felt keenly the disapproval of the people.[3]

When Myconius, who was now in Lucerne, received the news that his good friend Conrad Grebel had returned home, he hastened to Zurich to complete the reconciliation between Conrad and his parents for which he had been working for months.[4] He wanted to help the young man whom he had learned to love and whom he had so faithfully supported during the time of trial and suffering in Paris. The visit to Zurich was not in vain for he succeeded in accomplishing a measure of reconciliation between father and son, which Conrad gratefully recognized.[5] However a certain tension still re-

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1. See chapter VI, p. 60, for the time of the return. Ammann heard with pleasure on July 23 in Milan, that Conrad had returned to Zurich. Ammann to Zwingli, *Zwingli Werke,* VII, 337. Sources for this period of Grebel's life were the thirty-one letters which he wrote at this time. Of these twenty-eight were addressed to Vadian, all in the *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* and three to Myconius, in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* vol. II. Two letters were written to Vadian from Basel, the others from Zurich.

2. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 236. The letter is incorrectly dated in *Vad.BrS.*

3. See Rudolf Staehelin, *Huldreich Zwingli,* I, Basel, 1895, p. 186ff.

4. Myconius to Vadian, (?), 1520, *Vad.BrS.* II, 325. "Tigurum veni, non postrema causa ut convenirem Conradum nostrum. . . . Verum quia abfuit is, patri eius dedi, qui id faceret."

5. Grebel to Myconius, July 25, 1520, *MQR.* II, 239.

mained in their relationship so that the earlier confidential attitude which had existed before Conrad left for Paris was never altogether restored. One of the chief reasons for this was the serious failure of the father to deal justly with his son in the discharge of his financial obligations to him, as has been indicated earlier.[6] In consequence of this failure, the tension between the two grew gradually worse instead of better until the complete break came eighteen months later in connection with Conrad's secret marriage.

After his return home Grebel continued to suffer from the illness which had troubled him ever since he left Vienna.[7] In November, 1520, he referred to his ailment,[8] and in April and July, 1521, he mentioned particularly an inflammation in the feet.[9] More than once he asked Vadian, who was practicing medicine in St. Gall, for medical aid, and in October, 1521, his parents advised him to return from Basel to take the baths.[10]

But in addition to his physical ailment Conrad also suffered psychically under the situation in which he was compelled to live after his return from Paris. The future was altogether uncertain and dark to him.[11] The weeks and the months passed by in a sort of aimless existence without plan and without goal. His father gave him no indication of any plan for his future, and yet Conrad could do nothing without his father's consent.[12] Much of the time he had literally nothing to do. His books did not arrive from Paris until the middle of September, two months after he himself had returned.[13] For a time it is true he was occupied in the iron shop of his father, since Jacob Grebel was frequently absent in the service of the canton or as a delegate to the meetings of the confederacy, and the new manager of shop, Beatus, was not familiar with the business.[14] Conrad thought of travel; he planned to go to Lucerne to visit Myconius and Xylotectus: but something always interfered and so the trip did not take place.[15] Vadian invited him again and again

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6. See chapter VI, pp. 59-60, with proofs.
7. See chapter V. pp. 24-25 for a description of the illness.
8. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 19–Dec. 8, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* III, 210.
9. Grebel to Vadian, Apr. 25, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 364, and July 22, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* III, 228, "manuum simul et pedum frequens et ille ad articularem accedens morbus."
10. Grebel to Vadian, end of October, 1521, *Vad.BrS. III,* 231.
11. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 4, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 329.
12. Grebel to Myconius, July 6, 1520, *MQR.* II, 239, and Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 11, 1520, *Vad.BrS.* VII, 15, "sed quid facies homini, qui hic pedibus paternis trahar, ne dicam, proprio in hac re arbitrio caream?"
13. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 11, 1520, *loc.cit.*
14. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 11, 1520, *loc.cit.*
15. Grebel to Myconius, July 25, 1520, *MQR.* II, 240.

to come to St. Gall, and finally in the latter half of October Conrad did succeed in getting away from Zurich.[16] The visit to Vadian had two purposes, one the restoration of the intimacy of the friendship of earlier days which had been partially broken, and the other to discuss with Vadian plans for the future, in particular plans for future study. As a result of the visit it was agreed that Conrad should continue his studies. This time it was to be in Italy, for the father had succeeded in securing for the son a two year papal stipend for study at the University of Pisa,[17] a stipend granted by the papal legate, Pucci, [18] who had come to Zurich September 11, 1520. Definite plans were made, and at the beginning of November Conrad reported to Vadian that he was ready for the journey.[19]

Nevertheless the plan to spend two years in Pisa was never carried out, in spite of the fact that the thought of going to Italy had been considered for years, indeed as early as the summer of 1518 before the journey to Paris was undertaken.[20] It will be remembered also that after the break with Glarean in Paris in January, 1519, Grebel had indicated his desire to go to Italy to study at either Pisa or Bologna.[21] At that time the plan could not be carried out, for no financial arrangements had been made, but even now with everything ready the trip was called off. Vadian, who had heard from Conrad that all that stood between him and the departure was a trip to Einsiedeln to make a vow, [22] actually wrote to father Jacob Grebel at the beginning of January, 1521, on the assumption that Conrad had proceeded to Pisa according to plans, and was quite surprised to be informed to the contrary.[23] By the first of February, 1521, Conrad's enthusiasm for the trip had markedly declined[24] and he began to consider going to Basel instead of to Pisa.[25] Again the

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16. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 7, 1520, *Vad.BrS. II,* 315.

17. Jacob Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 17, 1520, *Vad.BrS. II,* 313. Grebel describes his dealings with Pucci and then adds, "und darum, so ist min früntlich bit und beger, mir und im zu rattenm was zu dun sy; dann so ver es üch und im gefallen wet, das er noch zwey jar fliss het gehan mit gottlicher hilff, würt es im wol erschiessen."

18. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 11, 1520, *loc.cit.*

19. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 7, 1520, *loc.cit.*

20. See chapter VI, note 8.

21. See chapter VI, note 41.

22. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 19-Dec. 8, 1520, *Vad.BrS. III,* 210.

23. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 4, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 330.

24. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 1, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 337. The reason for Grebel's unwillingness was his opposition to the foreign scholarship. "Stipendii causa quam male audiamus parens et filius."

25. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 1, 1521, *loc. cit.* "Basileam ni peto, prudens sciens vivus videnque pereo pereoque fato miserimo. . . . et olim praeter spem cum meam tum parentum quippiam moliri."

legate promised the stipend and even offered to pay the cost of the journey, but stipulated that the money should be paid to Grebel after he should arrive in Pisa. The legate then left Zurich for Italy, having secured the mercenaries for the army of the pope which he had come to secure, in full expectation that Grebel would join the company at Uri. But once again Grebel's plan changed; he did not join the legate at Uri, for he much preferred to go to Basel whither he intended to come before Easter.[26] By April 8, 1521, the unstable young man was once more in doubt whether to go to Pisa or to Basel, but about that time both father and mother became seriously ill so that the journey to either place became impossible.[27] It was four months, or the beginning of August, 1521, before Grebel actually got away from Zurich, and then it was Basel instead of Pisa to which he went. But his stay in Basel was short, only a brief ten weeks from the beginning of August to the end of October, 1521. And when he came back home to Zurich it was with the determination to give up once for all any thought of traveling to foreign lands to continue his study, for he had decided to settle permanently in Zurich.[28]

The repeated changes in Grebel's plans for travel during the months between October, 1520, and August, 1521, which have just been noticed, reflect vividly the state of mind in which Grebel found himself during this time. His life became a weary, futile, unhappy wasting of time.[29] He had no serious occupation. He could settle upon no plan for the future. He had no serious interests in life. Even the books and the studies which he had enjoyed so much in Vienna and Paris were grossly neglected, so that in the pursuit of the only real interest which he had acquired he became dull and indifferent.[30]

What did Grebel actually do in the year that elapsed between his return from Paris in 1520 and his departure for Basel in August, 1521? Did the young humanist who had made such progress in his intellectual development in six years of university study simply

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26. Grebel to Vadian, March 19, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 350.

27. Grebel to Vadian, April 8, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 355. His mother's illness is described in a letter to Vadian, April 25, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 364. His father's illness is described in a letter to Vadian, May 28 to July 14, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* III, 225.

28. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 2, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 398.

29. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 1, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 336. "Dum hic haereo, nulli rei idoneus, tempus ignaviter perdens et studium literarum sic dissimulans." He cites the Greek proverb, "askopa toxeuein."

30. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 1, 1521, *loc. cit.* Also Dec. 18, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 408. "Verum si meae vitae modum cognoscas tam inertem, tam a studiies declinantem." Also to Vadian, Nov. 2, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 398. "Studiis ingenuis operam navavi infelicissimam, intolerabilibus calamitatibus affectus; et haec est, quod in faustum totiesque impeditum studiorum cursum mox prorsus abrupturus sim."

stand still and mark time? Grebel himself answers in the affirmative; he even thinks that he went backward.[31] Much of what he had learned, he says, was lost again. Grebel's own opinion may be somewhat exaggerated on account of the gloomy frame of mind in which he wrote the above statement, but by and large the judgment is correct. However Grebel did not altogether lose his interest in study and books, for in Zurich he found a group of friends who had been studying Greek zealously under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli since the spring of 1520, and with whom he could have pleasant fellowship.[32] In the circle were the masters of the two schools of the city, several of the canons of the cathedral, a village priest by the name of Simon Stumpf of Hoengg, and others. George Binder, one of the schoolmasters and an old friend of Grebel in Vienna, presided over the group. In October, 1521, two other good friends of Grebel, Valentin Tschudi and J. J. Ammann, both fellow-students in Paris, also came to Zurich and joined the circle. After his return from Basel, Grebel reports on November 4, 1521, in a letter to Myconius, that he is reading Plato together with Zwingli, Tschudi and Ammann.[33] Not much is known about this little circle of scholars and their Greek studies, although it seems quite clear that Zwingli was recognized as the leader or teacher of the group and that the group considered itself more as a learned society than as a school. A very interesting report of the activities of the "Sodalitium" is given by Albert Burer in a letter to Beatus Rhenanus in the spring of 1520 when he attended the meetings of the group several times as the guest of Simon Stumpf.[34] He reports that the circle met several times a week and occasionally took meals together. It is quite likely that the members of the group did some original composition in Greek. Several times in letters to Vadian Grebel mentions certain Greek epigrams which he had written, and reports that the samples which he was sending to Vadian had not yet been examined by Zwingli. Later he sent other epigrams which Zwingli had

31. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 18, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 408, "Dedisco olim apprehensas literas (si tamen apprehendi) dediscoque in dies magis magisque."

32. Glarean had no doubt learned of the literary "sodalitium" at the time of his visit in Zurich early in May, 1520, for on July 7, 1520 immediately after his return to Paris from Switzerland, he greets Zwingli together with his brother Andreas, Binder, Luchsinger, Spross, Utinger, "et omnes tecum graecissantes," Glarean to Zwingli, July 7, 1520, *Zwingli Werke VII,* 333. Myconius also greets the "sodalitium." Myconius to Zwingli, June 10, 1520, *Zwingli Werke VII,* 322. A description of the circle is found in *Staehelin, Huldreich Zwingli,* I, p. 149.

33. Grebel to Myconius, Nov. 4, 1521, *MQR.* II, 240, *"Platonisamus* Zinlius, Scudus, Ammanus et ego."

34. Albert Burer to Beatus Rhenanus, summer of 1520, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus,* p. 240. Also cited in *Zwingli Werke,* VII, 322, note 4.

corrected.[35] The group which studied Hebrew in the year 1522 with Pellican as teacher was likely composed of many of the same scholars who studied Greek in 1521.[36]

Evidence found in the correspondence of Grebel with Vadian during this period indicates that Grebel's chief scholarly interest was the study of Greek language and literature. In one letter he mentioned that he was studying Homer's *Iliad* and had written many "scholia" in connection with his study.[37] He planned to take the book along to St. Gall as a traveling companion.[38] In another letter Grebel commiserated Vadian on the fact that he had not yet learned the Greek language. He offered to help him and urged him to undertake the study in spite of his age. In order to help him to get started he sent him several books which he could use for his personal study.[37]

The renewed fellowship with old friends in Zurich brought Grebel much satisfaction. His first contact with Zwingli was in 1517 when Zwingli, then at Einsiedeln, opened correspondence with Grebel while he was a student in Vienna.[39] The contact had never been close before, but now the relation became more intimate. For instance, in a letter of November, 1520, to Vadian, Grebel commented with admiration on the zeal and diligence with which Zwingli performed the duties of his office, and promised to carry out a commission which he had received from Vadian with the same zeal which he admired in Zwingli.[40] Zwingli himself apparently learned to appreciate and admire young Grebel, for he soon took him into the intimate circle of his close friends, and in August, 1522, permitted him to publish a poem as an appendix to his *Apologeticus Archeteles*. The group of intimate friends which was gradually gathering about Zwingli

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35. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 7, 1520, *Vad.BrS. II*, 316, where Grebel calls them "Attica mea epigrammata." In the next letter (Nov. 19, 1520, *op.cit.* III, 209) he sends two corrected epigrams, "nondum a Zinlio examinata." In the following letter (Dec. 8, 1520, *op.cit.*, II, 317) a collection "Graecerum dictionum illa Zinliana lima" [limatarum] are mentioned. On Nov. 2, 1521 (II, 398) he is planning to write some epigrams patterned after Lucian as a final "exercitium." He also mentions to Myconius, Nov. 4, 1521, that when he has time he turns Greek epigrams into verse, "Graecum Epigramma aliquot expono, in carmen verto," *MQR. II*, 240.

36. See "Zwingli als Hebräer," Zwingliana I, 154.

37. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 11, 1520, *Vad.BrS. VII*, 15, "vellem ne careres Lucianis Homericisque operibus atque utinam Iliados aliunde tibi copia fieret saltem, ob id, quod eam ex nostris collectaneis, in hunc maxime usum scriptis, huius poetarum Graecorum principis oracula nosciturus."

38. Grebel to Vadian, July 17, 1520, *Vad.BrS. II*, 293, "ut comite mea. . . . ad te venirem."

39. Grebel to Zwingli, September 8, 1517, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 62, "Literas tuas, observandissime Zwingli, minus expectavimus."

40. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 7, 1520, *Vad.BrS. II*, 316. Sebastian Hofmeister was in Zurich a short time in the summer of 1520, but left early in September. Hofmeister to Zwingli, Sept. 17, 1520, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 350, with note 1.

was composed at the end of 1521 of the following: Grebel, George Binder, J. J. Ammann, Valentin Tschudi, "Leutpriester" Heinrich Engelhart, "Chorherr" Heinrich Utinger, Konrad Luchsinger, "Propst" Felix Frei, and the city clerk Kaspar Frei. Felix Manz joined the circle in 1522. In this circle Zwingli found several young men who had acquired a good humanistic training at various universities and whom he probably hoped to be able to depend upon as active helpers in his labors for the moral and religious reform of the city and canton of Zurich. Good friends and faithful supporters they were, but at this early date the common interest which bound them together with Zwingli was the humanistic study of Greek and Hebrew more than ecclesiastical and theological reform. The reform interest was soon to come.

Through his fellowship with Zwingli, Grebel gradually came into closer contact with other humanists of Switzerland, particularly with Zwingli's friends in Basel.[41] There was Beatus Rhenanus with whom Zwingli conducted regular correspondence from the middle of 1518 to the beginning of 1522. Then in the year 1519, Hedio entered into Zwingli's circle of friends; in 1520, came Capito, and in 1521, Butzer. In addition to these well-known figures Zwingli enjoyed the friendship of the great Basel printers Frobenius and Amerbach, as well as other lesser figures. At the beginning of 1520 Zwingli had visited his friends in Basel, and when the great Erasmus himself came to Basel to live, Zwingli gradually developed a friendship with him. The two men had exchanged letters once in 1516, but the regular correspondence between them began in September, 1522. However as early as January 12, 1522, Grebel reported to Vadian that Zwingli desired to visit Erasmus in Basel.[42] Grebel's interest in Erasmus began in August, 1520, when Myconius sent him a copy of an unprinted epistle by Erasmus concerning Luther.[43] In the middle of July, 1521, Grebel had learned through correspondence from the Basel printer, Cratander, (Grebel was acting as intermediary between Vadian and Cratander in the matter of the second edition of Vadian's Pomponius Mela), that Erasmus, so Frobenius said, was soon to come to Basel. This news Grebel quickly reported to Vadian.[44] On November 15, 1521, Erasmus actually arrived in Basel, as Grebel reported to Vadian on December 18, 1521.[45] Some

41. The following data are taken from Zwingli's letters, *Zwingli Werke VII.*
42. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 12, 1522, *Vad.BrS. II,* 415.
43. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 3, 1520, *Vad.BrS. II,* 299.
44. Grebel to Vadian, July 14, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 368.
45. Allen, *op.cit.,* IV, p. 598. Also Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 18, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 408.

weeks later, in a letter dated February 6, 1522, Grebel proposed to Vadian that they should together make a journey to Basel to visit Erasmus.[46] Unfortunately no letters of Grebel have been preserved for a period of nine months immediately following this proposal so that it is impossible to say whether Grebel actually visited Erasmus. However it is possible that the plan mentioned above was carried out during the summer of 1522, for Erasmus reports in a letter to Zwingli of September 3, 1522, that he had seen Vadian.[47]

How deep the interest was which Grebel manifested in Erasmus is difficult to say. Naturally all the humanists of the time knew about Erasmus and honored and revered him as the great star of the world of learning. All the humanist friends of Grebel were friends and admirers of Erasmus to a greater or less degree. Glarean was a particularly close friend of Erasmus, but Myconius and Zwingli were not far behind in their admiration for the man. Vadian had never met Erasmus personally and had had little correspondence with him, but his friendly attitude was indicated in a laudatory passage in the second edition of his commentary on *Pomponius Mela* which was written in 1520 and published in January, 1522.[48] Zwingli thought so much of Erasmus that in the summer of 1522 he invited him to come to Zurich to live.[49] The invitation made little impression on Erasmus for he rejected it at once. Indeed, Erasmus never even visited Zurich although he had intended to stop there in September, 1522, on his return journey from Constance to Basel.[50]

The interest and activity in the study of Greek language and literature in which Conrad Grebel participated together with the Zurich circle of humanistic friends about Zwingli is of significance, but it should not be unduly emphasized, for it did not take much of Grebel's time and energy and did not furnish him a satisfying life interest. In spite of this activity he found no inner peace. The conflicts with which he had come home from Paris were for the most part still present in his soul and to some extent intensified, and the tension with his father was only partially relaxed. The months passed, and yet he found no purpose to which he could devote his

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46. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 6, 1522, *Vad.BrS. II*, 421, "ibimus ad Erasmum."

47. Erasmus to Zwingli, September 3, 1522, Allen, *op.cit., V*, p. 130. "Vadianus non minus placet conspectus quam ante lectus." Also found in *Zwingli Werke VII*, 581.

48. *Pomponii Melae*. . . . Basel 1522, p. 160. Reference in Allen, *op. cit. V*. p. 130.

49. See *Zwingli Werke VII*, 580, note 1.

50. Myconius to Zwingli, Sept. 23, 1522, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 584. See Allen, *op.cit. V*. p. 131.

life. For a time the plan to go to Pisa seemed to furnish the solution, but when that failed he could only wait through the weary weeks in Zurich as a do-nothing. The situation became intolerable: he was exceedingly unhappy, and in his misery was brought to the edge of despair. His life, he says in one letter to Vadian, was a "miserable story," and if he did not soon find a solution to his problems he would drown "in the boundless depths of his tribulations."[51]

In the midst of the tribulation which Conrad Grebel was suffering came a new experience of love. It was an experience which made him at one and the same time most happy and most unhappy. In it he found meaning and value, but in it he found a source of increased tension with his own parents which soon became almost unbearable. Apparently the girl was not a member of one of the patrician families with whom alone a marriage for Conrad Grebel would have been tolerable in the eyes of his parents, and so he had to keep the whole affair secret. It is clear from Grebel's comments in his correspondence with Vadian and Myconius that the affection between him and his beloved was so deep and so strong that it broke through all the bonds of social inequality which might otherwise have interfered with it. Just when the affair began is not clear. In a letter to Myconius of November 4, 1521, Grebel reported that he had been "attacked by the little god 'Cupid' not a few months before,"[52] and as early as the nineteenth of February, 1521, he reported to Vadian that he did not feel worthy of the deep and pure love which his beloved bestowed upon him, that in fact they loved each other so desperately that they could not long remain separate. In this letter as well as in several other letters Grebel called his beloved his "Holokosme," that is, his "whole world."[53]

The great difficulty into which the love affair had brought him was reported in person by Conrad to Vadian on the occasion of a visit by Vadian and his wife Martha to Zurich at the time of the serious illness of Conrad's mother in April-May, 1521. Grebel told Vadian just how things stood, that he could not give up his beloved, and yet could not marry her because of the opposition of the parents. He unfolded a plan to go to Basel and set up his home there. Vadian apparently approved the plan because he later expressed surprise

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51. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 1, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 337. "Auditurus esses vitae meae non minus miserabilem quam mirabilem historiam." In Greek "ten ton emon kakon apeiresien thalassan."

52. Grebel to Myconius, Nov. 4, 1521, *MQR. II,* p. 240.

53. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 19, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 341. Various letters after May 28, 1521, witness to the inseparableness of the lovers, and use the name "Holokosme," Greek for "whole world."

that Conrad had not gone to Basel at once and wondered why the father had opposed the plan.[54] Conrad had apparently been offered a position as proof-reader in the print shop of Cratander where he could earn his livelihood and at the same time continue his humanistic studies, for when he did go to Basel in August he accepted such a position. Not only Vadian but others as well gradually learned of Conrad's affair and of his plan to go to Basel. The situation became so serious that Conrad had to find sympathetic friends to whom he could go for counsel. One of the first of those to whom he turned was his aunt Agathe, a nun in Oetenbach convent; to her he poured out his heart. She encouraged him to carry through his plan to go to Basel in spite of everything.[55] Conrad's sister Barbara, who was at that time living with her parents in Zurich during the first months of her widowhood, also came to Conrad's aid.[56]

Conrad was determined to go to Basel, but he did not have the courage to make a complete break with his parents at once. In the first place, father Jacob was seriously ill at the end of May.[55] But even after he had recovered, Conrad was not ready to leave, for on July 14, 1521, he wrote to Vadian that he would not promise when he would go; he would announce his departure to Vadian only after it had actually taken place, so that he would be able to shout with rejoicing "Conrad has broken through, he has broken his chains and his fetters, he is free."[56] When he finally disclosed his intentions to his parents, the father would hear nothing of it. But it was too late to turn back now for Conrad had already sent his beloved to Basel in advance,[57] and it was but a question of time until he could gather sufficient courage to make the final break. While he was struggling with the decision he could not sleep; he was under a tremendous strain; he felt that he was near death.[57] The parents were angry and flatly refused to grant permission. But Conrad had in essence made his decision months before; in accord with the motto of Ulrich Hutten, "Ieci aleam," he had cast the die.[58] He was resolved to stop at nothing if necessary, and prepared the horse for the moment when he was ready to fly.[57] Finally father Grebel yielded and even gave

54. Grebel to Vadian, July 22, 1521, *Vad.BrS. III,* 227. "Sollicitus es, qua ratione sic cuncter abire." Also Aug. 4, 1521, *Vad.BrS. III,* 338. "Cunctationis paternae causas rogas."

55. Grebel to Vadian, May 28, to July 14, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* III, 226.

56. Grebel to Vadian, July 14, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 368. "Barbara. . . . quae quod omnis rei et conscia et internuncia est."

57. Grebel to Vadian, July 22, 1521, *loc.cit.*

58. Grebel to Vadian, May 28 to July 14, *loc. cit.* "Iecit aleam arrepta libertate Huttenus. Ego captus ac amore arrepto universam ludam iaciamque aleam."

Conrad forty francs in money to take with him. In addition to this small fund, Conrad had secured a stipend from the papal commissar, Wilhelm de Falconibus, which he concealed from his father.[59] On August 21, a month after his beloved had gone in advance, Grebel finally reached Basel. With rejoicing he wrote to Vadian on the occasion of his arrival, "I have reached Basel and have fulfilled my heart's desire. My beloved is with me; we get along fine together, except that now and then we have little quarrels as is the manner of lovers. The quarrel is usually short and peace comes quickly. She says that she is mine, and I am hers so absolutely that I could not be it more completely. I have not yet rented a house where we can live together but I will do so at once. As soon as this occurs, if she keeps her promise, we will be happy with a multitude of joys. But let us see how the matter will work out. At last the heart of your poor Grebel is enraptured, hence rejoice with me if you love me."[60]

Grebel remained about two months in Basel. He took lodging with Cratander, the famous printer, together with Kaspar Ursinus Velius who had recently come to Basel to work for Cratander. The printer was delighted to have these two talented young scholars in his shop, and on September 20 he expressed his rejoicing over the addition of these new talents to his business in a letter written to his friend Capito from Frankfort a.M. where he was attending the fall book fair. His shop would in the future be able to do much better work, he felt sure, and would have much greater fame because of the contribution of these able scholars.[61]

Grebel's original plan had been to support his beloved in a separate lodging while he himself took lodging with Cratander, but this arrangement turned out to be too expensive and had to be given up. For his own living expenses he had to pay twenty-four guilders a month, and for his friend twenty guilders, in addition to other expenses for clothing and furniture. In order to cut down expenses he considered living with his beloved in her quarters where they might

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59. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 2, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 404. The *Vadianische Briefsammlung* repeats the date, Dec. 2, as Grebel wrote it. Grebel however made a mistake. This error gave rise to the theory that Grebel was in Basel twice, as for instance presented by Neff in *Gedenkschrift zum 400-Jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten,* p. 73.

60. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 21, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 387. Grebel evidently wrote very soon after his arrival in Basel. Nevertheless several days may have passed after the arrival before the dispatch of the letter.

61. Andreas Cratander to Capito, Sept. 20. Frankfurt a. M., in the university library at Basel, *Ms. Ki. Ar. 25a. Letter no. 48,* fol. 71, "Ursinum Velium celeberrimum poetam et graece doctissimum domi meae alo, item Conradum Grebelium egregiae indolis iuvenem, cuius soror Joachimo Vadiano nupsit; Quo officina mea de huius modi doctorum virorum conversatione celebrior instructiorque futura sit."

have a common household.[62] But on second thought he decided against this plan because he felt certain that if his parents should hear of it they would cast him off as one who was living with a common prostitute and had so disgraced the family that he was no longer worthy to bear the name of Grebel. Further the father would probably hear of the papal stipend before long, and in his wrath would withdraw all financial support so that he would not have enough money for even the one household. Grebel returned to Zurich in October. So it is highly probable that he continued to live with Cratander during his entire short stay in Basel, until his return to Zurich in October, 1521.[63]

Little is known of Grebel's activity during the few months of his employment in Cratander's shop. It is probable that he read proof on the second edition of Vadian's *Pomponius Mela* which was just then in the press and was to be completed by the end of the year.[64] Ursinus was planning a complete edition of his own poems and reported to Vadian that he was happy to have secured the assistance of Conrad Grebel in preparing the book for the press.[65] It is doubtful, however, that Grebel ever did much for Ursinus, since the book was printed by Froben in March of the following year, 1522.[66] There is no evidence whatsoever that Grebel was enrolled as a student at the university at this time as has been asserted.[67] Ursinus, it is true, was matriculated at the University on August 1, 1521,[68] but Grebel's name does not appear among the matriculants.

The date of Grebel's departure from Basel is uncertain, but it was soon after Cratander's return from the Frankfort Fair, which must have been early in October. His parents urged him to come home to take the baths in the hope that they might benefit his health.[69] Conrad wrote to Myconius on November 4, 1521, that he was very glad to be at home again, and that he had resolved never again to leave Zurich for foreign climes, for he had experienced so much unhappiness in his various residences abroad that the mere

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62. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 2, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II,* 405. Neff, *op.cit.,* p. 74. misreads the letter. The 24 Gulden were not salary, but rent.

63. When Kaspar Ursinus wrote to Vadian from Basel Oct. 1, 1521, Grebel was still with him at Cratander's shop. *Cf.* chapter V. note 29.

64. Grebel to Vadian, end of October, 1521, *Vad.BrS. III,* 231.

65. See note 63 above, also other letters of Ursinus about this time.

66. *Caspari Ursini Velii Poematarum Libri V,* Basel (Frobenius) March, 1522.

67. The only evidence for this is the statement of George Binder, *Egli,* no. 1050, p. 494, "Konrad sei damit nach Basel zur Schule gegangen."

68. Gustav Bauch, "Caspar Ursinus Velius," *Ungarische Revue VII,* Budapest, 1887, p. 38.

69. Grebel to Vadian, end of October, 1521, *loc. cit.*

mention of another trip to a foreign country was sufficient to make him shudder.[70] He wrote much the same to Vadian on November 2, 1521, saying that he had decided to give up foreign travel for a long time.[71] He gave emphasis to his decision by resuming some time in October 1521, his Zurich citizenship which he had surrendered in July, 1515, when he had left for Vienna.[72]

Grebel's stay in Basel seems to have had little significance for his development. The time was too short and his interest was too much engaged in his love affair to leave much time for other things. It is possible that he met Erasmus at this time, although it is rather doubtful since the latter was absent almost the whole month of September on a journey to Constance.[73] Cratander himself was absent almost the entire time at the Frankfort Fair. It is possible that Grebel came into contact with Beatus Rhenanus who was one of the outstanding humanists in Basel at this time.[74] Glarean did not come back to Switzerland from Paris until February or March of the next year, 1522.[75] Oekolampad, Ulrich von Hutten, and Hartmut von Kronberg did not appear in Basel until November, 1522. Capito had left Basel in April, 1520, and Hedio, his faithful disciple, had followed him in the autumn of the same year. The new ideas from Wittenberg were already taking root in Basel but it is scarcely likely that Grebel was influenced by them in the brief time of his stay in the city.

It might be of interest to inquire whether Grebel came into contact in Basel with certain men who later were prominent in the Anabaptist movement. Only two names come into consideration in this respect, Wilhelm Reublin and Ulrich Hugwald. Balthasar Hubmaier was in Basel for a short time but did not come until July, 1522, eight months after Grebel had left.[76] Hans Denk came still later, in 1523, although he too, like Grebel, was for a time a proofreader in Cratander's shop (as Oekolampad also was).[77] Ulrich Hugwald,

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70. Grebel to Myconius, Nov. 4, 1521, *MQR. II*, 240.

71. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 2, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 398.

72. Grebel to Vadian, end of October, 1521, *loc. cit.* "Civitate Tiguri donatum me tandem credo." There is no trace in the state archives of Zurich of the reinstatement of Conrad Grebel to citizenship. Concerning the loss of his citizenship see chapter V, p. 10.

73. See note 50 above.

74. For the following dates see Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Reformation in Basel*, Basel, 1924, pp. 326-333.

75. Fritzsche, *op.cit.*, p. 31. See also Glarean to Zwingli, March 4, 1522, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 494.

76. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 330, with proof in Loserth, *Balthasar Hubmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertaufe in Mähren*, p. 27.

77. Christian Neff, "Hans Denk" in *Menn. Lexikon*, I, 401ff.

who had already matriculated at the University as early as 1519, was living in Basel in the summer of 1521, engaged in writing.[78] Wilhelm Reublin of Rottenberg on the Neckar had come to Basel about July, 1521, as pastor of St. Albans Parish Church, just shortly before Grebel arrived. He was chosen for a term of one year and according to an ancient report "began at once to preach excellently out of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament and to expound them in a Christian way,"[79] which was quite different from what had hitherto been the custom. Hugwald appears among the little group of Anabaptists who were discovered and arrested in Basel in August, 1525,[80] and Reublin was one of the first agitators against infant baptism in the canton of Zurich in 1524 and was later to become one of the leaders of the movement in Moravia.[81] It would be interesting to report contact between Grebel and these men during his stay in Basel, but unfortunately there is not the least trace of any sort of contact between the men.

It is quite probable, therefore, that Grebel returned to Zurich much the same man as he had been when he left, very little changed by his two months stay in Basel. He was possibly somewhat more sober, with the benefit of a little more experience and wisdom, but the content of his life and thinking, and the inner conflicts which he had to endure, had changed little. He had in no way been able to help himself by the Basel expedition, for the secret love affair had still to be kept secret, and the conflict with the parents had only been increased. His health was still poor, his future was still dark, he still had nothing to do, he could only wait. It may be assumed that he resumed a few activities that he had had before, and that he again participated in the Greek and later in the Hebrew studies which the little humanistic circle of Zwingli's friends carried on. What would ultimately become of his love affair was altogether uncertain. Marriage apparently seemed out of the question,[82] but he was firmly resolved never to give up his "Holokosme."[83]

But suddenly the wedding occurred after all.[84] On February 6,

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78. *Zwingli Werke VII*, 401, note 3, and Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*

79. Wackernagel, *loc.cit.*, 326.

80. *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation II Band*, No. 46, p. 33. See also Christian Neff, "Hugwald," in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, I, p. 363 f.

81. Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 566, 567, p. 246.

82. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 2, 1521, *Vad.BrS. II*, 398.

83. Grebel to Vadian, January 30, 1522, *Vad.BrS. II*, 416. "A delitiis meis, a mea vita, ab mea Holocosme non divellar."

84. The following description is taken from Grebel's letter to Vadian, Feb. 6, 1522, *Vad.BrS. II*, 421.

1522, at a time when father Grebel had left for an eight-day business trip, the ceremony was performed, probably by Heinrich Engelhart, parish priest at the Fraumünster Church. Engelhart together with Hans Wirz and a few other friends were commissioned by Conrad to seek a reconciliation with the father upon the latter's return home. Dorothea and Margareta Wirz, daughters of Hans Wirz, were present at the ceremony. Conrad's mother was enraged beyond measure at the sudden plunge into matrimony and quite lost her senses thereby; she wept unceasingly. In a letter written to Vadian on the day of the wedding Grebel said that if the father would take the same attitude as the mother he would not be able to remain much longer in the city. Since little else was to be expected of the father, Conrad looked forward to being banned from the paternal abode and said that he would himself have gone into voluntary exile already if he had not considered the grey hairs of his parents.

And now at last the final plunge had been taken, the die had been cast, the Gordian knot had been cut. Conrad Grebel had made the only honorable decision which remained for him to make. In so doing he had won his spiritual independence and self respect, and as a consequence his inner development approached its decisive stage.

(To be continued)

THE ALMS BOOK OF THE SKIPPACK MENNONITE CHURCH

1738-1936

John C. Wenger

In 1738 the officials of the Skippack congregation in what is now Skippack township, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, began to make entries of the alms-monies received and to record an annual audit of the same in a book. This interesting alms book has been in continuous use ever since and is now in the possession of the deacon of the congregation, Jacob T. Landes. Until recent years few historians have given much attention to the book. But through the efforts of Dr. Harold S. Bender of Goshen College several photostatic reproductions of the book were made in 1931.

The book measures about $8\frac{1}{8}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It is bound in a thin leather which was probably a pale yellow two centuries ago. Today it is buff in color. The edge of one of the covers has a small aperture through which passes a leather thong about three feet in length. When the book is closed the thong is wrapped about it and the book tied shut by a knot secured in the thong. The pages are somewhat darkened by age, but the writing is still quite legible. The pages are about $6\frac{1}{16}$ by $7\frac{1}{16}$ in. in size, and are of strong, durable paper. On the outside cover in beautiful lettering, is inscribed: *Der Menonisten: oder taufs*[1] *Gesinden Gemeine buch: Vor Die Gemeinde in bebberstaun anno Dommini 1738.* On the first page is written:

Rehenbuch: Vor die gemeind: Der taufs gesinden oder Menonisten in Bebberstownship:[2] Volgt nun die ein Nahm Vor dass Jahr Anno: 1738:—and then follows a list of dates and the receipts in pounds, shillings and pence.

The writing is in German script up to and including March 6, 1897. From 1898 until 1908 the Latin script was used, but the

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[1] The letters are partly faded. Only *tau* is clear.

[2] This was a common name for what was then Perkiomen and Skippack township, Philadelphia county. It was so called in popular usage, perhaps as late as the American revolution, in honor of an early purchaser of the tract, Matthias Van Bebber. Today the tract consists of two townships, Perkiomen and Skippack, in Montgomery county.

language was German. Since 1909 all audits are in the English language. Up to and including April 19, 1823, all the financial statements are given in pounds, shillings, and pence; from 1824 on, dollars and cents are used. About the year 1825 there was a change of terms for deacon; before that date the deacons were called *Eltesten,* after 1825 *Vorsteher.* The first signatures in which a middle initial was used, appeared April 9, 1841.

On page two there is an entry which is subscribed to by five ministers: "Nach letzten ahrechnung den 26 Dag December Anno Domini 1738 in bey sein Diener and ältesten von unsserer gemeinde sind bey samen komen und haben die rechnung welches Jacob Kolb geführet wegen dem geld so Vor die armen ist eingelegt wie auch wass von dem selben wider auss geben, und seind alle rechnungen von Jahr zu Jahr ordentlich ver rechnet biss auff diessen dag. Welches wir under schrieben mit unsser eigenen Handt bezeigen den tag und Jahr wie oben steth
bleibt noch x x x x x[3] von dem ein genomenen gelt in meiner hant nächst künftig in rechnung zu bringen die suma von 6£ 7 3½

Martin Kolb
Class Janson
Yilles Kassel
Jacob Greder
Michael M Z Ziegler[4]

A typical audit (translated from the German) reads about as follows: "On the twenty-seventh of April, 1822, we the undersigned ministers and deacons of the Skippack Mennonite Church met together and examined the alms account and found in the hands of Henry Kassel the sum of one hundred fifty-six pounds, eighteen shillings and six pence; such we attest."

At first the officials kept a list of receipts and disbursements, most of which are found in the back part of the book. But after some years only the annual audit was recorded. For about the first eighty years, however, there was sometimes no audit for several years. There have been one hundred seventy-six audits in the one hundred ninety-eight years from 1738 to 1935 inclusive. Evidently all the ordained men, bishops, ministers and deacons (from the Skippack preaching circuit which now includes the Skippack, Providence and Worcester meetinghouses, and which earlier had included Towamencin) signed the audit. So that by going over the lists of signers one may obtain the names of all the ordained men who have served

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[3] Evidently the sum was first written, then erased, and small x's made as indicated.

[4] His mark; since others wrote his name for him it is spelled many different ways. See his mark in *The Strassburger Family and Allied Families of Pennsylvania,* Gwynedd Valley, Pa. 1922, page 428.

since 1738 in the Skippack circuit. But here two problems arise. One is that there is no way to distinguish preachers and deacons, except that at least for the last century all those mentioned as treasurers have been deacons. And the other problem is raised by the fact that sometimes the audit states that "ministers, deacons, and also brethren" (or "and others") were present. Such expressions occur about fourteen times during the first century covered by the book, most of them before 1800. In the case of laymen being present, did they also sign the audit? Was it always mentioned in the audit when "brethren" or "others" were present? Those questions admit of no answer at present. But about thirty men signed the audit only once or twice during the first one hundred and ten years. And in most of the cases where these names appear it is stated that "brethren" or "others" were present.

In the following list of the signers from 1738 to 1935 after each name there appears the first and last year the individual signed, and in parentheses the number of times he signed.[5]

1.	Martin Kolb	1738-1760	(18)
2.	Martin Kolb	1791	(1)
3.	Claus Janson	1738-1743	(4)
4.	Yilles Kassel	1738-1748	(11)
5.	Jacob Greder	1738-1759	(10)
6.	Michael Ziegler	[6]1738-1761	(14)
7.	Michael Ziegler	[6]1764-1802	(8)
8.	Valentine Hunsicker	[7]1739-1759	(11)
9.	Johannes Friedt	1739, 1764	(2)
10.	Jacob Schumacher	1742-1779	(18)
11.	Peter Kuster[8]	1743-1768	(11)
12.	Jacob Gaedtschalck[8a]	1745-1757	(12)
13.	Paulus Friedt	1746-1752	(4)

[5] It may be remarked that the same individuals seem not always to have spelled their names identically the same,—or else others signed for them. In many cases the first letter of the second name is not capitalized. In one case a man doubled the first letter, thus: ffriedt,—an old form which corresponded to a capital letter. Since these things varied from year to year I have not indicated such minor points.

[6] Perhaps 1738-1764; 1775-1802. It is not clear when the one quit signing, and the other began. Michael Ziegler was treasurer 1739-41, and 1753-60. He died between 1763 and 1765, probably in 1764. He had a son Michael. A note in the book under date of August 27, 1761, speaks of the treasurer as "Michael Ziegler den Alten." Was Michael Ziegler Jr. already ordained?

[7] He served as treasurer 1742-52; 1761-1770.

[8] Sometimes Koster.

[8a] Both men signed the same audits, 1753 and 1756. Number 12 usually signed at or near the head of the list; 16a, farther down. Number 12 never had "s" at the end of his name; 16a always except in 1781.

14.	Andreas Ziegler	1746-1790	(38)
15.	Garet Schrager	1750	(1)
16.	Adam Gotwals	1750	(1)
16a.	Jacob Gaetschalcks[8a]	1753-1781	(8)
17.	Henrich Kolb	1753-1791	(16)
18.	Christian Stauffer	1754	(1)
19.	Hans[9] Dettwiller	1750, 1757	(2)
20.	Dielman Kolb	1761-1779	(9)
21.	Henrich Kassel	[10]1761-1795	(6)
22.	Henrich Kassel	[10]1792-1834	(27)
23.	Isaac Kolb	1764	(1)
24.	Peter Johnson	1764	(1)
25.	Isaac Hunsicker[11]	1764-1814	(15)
26.	John Kassel[12]	1767-1795	(10)
27.	John Custer[13]	1776-1781	(3)
28.	Henry Pannebecker[14]	1775-1792	(9)
29.	Henrich Hunsicker	1781-1832	(33)
30.	Isaac Kassel	1774-1823	(24)
31.	Benjamin Jansen[15]	1791-1823	(11)
32.	Abraham Detweiler	1791, 1842	(2)
33.	Gottschall Gottschalk[15a]	1791	(2)
34.	Henry Wismer	1791	(1)
35.	Peter Godschalk	1791	(1)
36.	William Tyson	1791	(1)
37.	Dielman Ziegler	1792	(1)
38.	John Tyson	1792, 1795	(2)
39.	Peter Johnson	1792	(1)
40.	John Horning	1792, 1795	(2)
41.	Johannes Hunsicker	1812-1847	(31)
42.	William Gottschall	1818-1847	(15)
43.	Matthias[16] Rittenhouse	1820-1831	(9)

[9] The writing is almost illegible; it appears to be Hass, but on tax-lists, etc. his name is given as Hans.

[10] There is no certainty here. An apparently new signature appears in 1792. The next audit is 1795; in that year two Henrich Kassels signed, and the second one is followed by a J.,—perhaps for Junior (?).

[11] Sometimes Hänsicker.

[12] Sometimes Cassel.

[13] Once Jan Koster.

[14] In 1761 he signed an entry recording a bequest given to the congregation from an estate of which he was an executor.

[15] Sometimes Johnson.

[15a] Of the sixteen signatures which follow the 1791 audit two are this name. It is possible that the same man signed twice.

[16] Frequently Matthes.

44.	David G. Allebach[16a]	1821-1846	(9)
45.	Garret Ziegler	1821	(1)
46.	Abraham Hendricks	1822-1834	(8)
47.	Henrich Bien[17]	1824-1830	(6)
48.	Johannes Kratz	1825-1866	(31)
49.	John Histand	1825-1828	(4)
50.	Abraham Cassel[18]	1830-1834	(5)
51.	Elias Landes	1832-1860	(28)
52.	Garet Hunsicker	1832-1845	(3)
53.	John Gotwals	1833-1874	(38)
54.	Abraham Hunsicker[19]	1847	(1)
55.	Jacob Landes	1835, 1836	(2)
56.	Isaac Hunsicker	1835-1842	(4)
57.	George Reiff	1835-1842	(4)
58.	Abraham Wismer	1839-1876	(38)
59.	Johannes Landes	1837-1859	(10)
60.	Isaac Longacre[20]	1841-1887	(32)
61.	Jacob Markley	1841	(1)
62.	John D. Hunsicker	1841	(1)
63.	Johannes Souder	1842	(1)
64.	Henry Kolb	1842	(1)
65.	Henry G. Johnson[21]	1842	(1)
66.	Daniel Landes	1842, 1846	(2)
67.	John H. Hendricks	1846	(1)
68.	John Custer	1848	(1)
69.	Paul Custer	1848	(1)
70.	George Detweiler	1850-1882	(30)
71.	John B. Tyson	1862-1889	(26)
72.	John B. Hunsberry	1863-1897	(34)
73.	Jacob B. Mensch	1868-1911	(44)
74.	Abraham S. Kulp	1874-1903	(29)
75.	Joseph Gander	1876-1900	(23)

16a He signed as David Allebach 1845 and 1846.

17 Once Bihn.

18 Once Kassel.

19 He was ordained preacher Jan. 1, 1847, and bishop shortly afterwards. He went with Oberholtzer in the division of 1847 and the next year founded Freeland Seminary (now Ursinus College).

20 Twice Langenecker.

21 According to Henry A. Hunsicker, (son of number 54, and first principal of Freeland Seminary), Henry G. Johnson was ordained after the division of 1847. *(Mennonite Year Book and Almanac for 1907,* pp. 20-24) Furthermore, D. K. Cassel says Johnson (who died in 1879) preached thirty-two years. *(A Genealogical History of the Cassel Family in America.* . . . Norristown, Pa. 1896, pp. 68, 69.)

76.	Abraham S. Reiff	1877-1879	(3)
77.	Christian Hunsberger	1880-1901	(21)
78.	Geo. L. Reiff	1881-1932	(34)
79.	Henry K. Wismer	1884-1910	(27)
80.	Benjamin C. Wismer	1894-1933	(40)
81.	Warren G. Bean	1898-(1935)	
82.	Jesse H. Mack	1901-1934	(33)
83.	John G. Gotwals	1901-1911	(11)
84.	Irwin R. Landes	1910-(1935)	
85.	Howard S. Pennapacker	1912-1930	(19)
86.	J. Martin Hunsberger	1913-1933	(21)
87.	Jacob T. Landes	1927-(1935)	
88.	Isaac B. Beideman	1929-(1935)	
89.	Jacob T. Landes	1933-(1935)	
90.	Elmer M. Mack	1934-(1935)	
91.	Jesse M. Mack	1935-	

By glancing over the audits I was able to make a list of the treasurers:

Jacob Kolb[22]	——-1738
Michael Ziegler[23]	1739-1741; 1753-1760
John Kassel	1771-1784
Isaac Hunsicker	1785-1821
Henrich Kassel	1821-1829

Joint treasurers

Abraham Hendricks (intermittently)	1822-1832
William Gottschall	1824-1827
Johannes Kratz	1830-1835

Joint treasurer

Johannes Gotwals	1834
Johannes Gotwals	1836-1867
Johannes Tyson	1868-1889
Abraham S. Kulp	1890-1902
Benjamin C. Wismer	1903-1933
Jacob T. Landes	1934-

It appears that money was sometimes loaned out to the poor. For instance, for a number of years after 1831 the annual statement

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[22] This would indicate that he was a deacon. He was killed, while pressing cider, by a beam falling on him October 4, 1739 (D. K. Cassel: *A Genealogical History of the Kolb, Kulp, or Culp Family*. . . . Norristown, Pa. 1895, p. 18).

[23] It has been held that he was a preacher. There seems to be no documentary support for such a claim.

included the fact that George Hellerman[24] had been loaned three hundred dollars without interest.

In order to acquaint the reader more thoroughly with the book, seven typical audits follow:

> "Nach dem unten gesetzten Date sind wir untergeschrieben bey sammen gewessen und haben Michael Ziegler seiner rechnung über sehen von dem allmosen gelt welches er ein genommen und auss gegeben und haben Ess alles recht und wohl befunden und bleibt in rest nein Pfund und ein schilling welches dem Valintin Hunsicker in hand gestelt worden nachst Künfssig in rechenung zu bringen so geschehen den 31 ten Janeware 1742 und wird also bekand unterschrieben wir gerechnet worden auch vom corn von dem vorgader[25] Land ist mit."
>
> * * * *
>
> "Am 5 ten Abril 1750 sind Diener Eltesten und Brüder von der Schiebacher gemeinde bey sammen ge Wessen und die Rechenung wegen allmosen geld über sehen und alles Richtig und wohl befunden wegen auss gab und Ein nahm und bleibt in Valantin Hunsicker seiner hand um nachstems wieder in rechenung zu bringen die summa von fünfs zehen pfundt zehen schilling und Elfs benss solches bezeugen wir mit Eigenem hand."
>
> * * * *
>
> "1785 Am 12 December sind Diener (und) Eltesten der Schippacher menonisten gemeinde bey samen gewesen und haben die Rechnung wegen dem allmossen geld obgesagter gemeinte, in händen gehabt und auch der Letzten Rechnung eingenommen und aus geben und Ein nahm und aus gab über sehen und hat sich alles Richtig befunden und bleibt von der Vorigen rechnung welches Isaac Hunsicker nämlich an alt gelt die sum von £4 – S17 – P9 und zwey noten von £7 – S14 – P4 und bleibt nun wieder in den händen wie oben steht solches bezeugen wir."
>
> * * * *
>
> "Am 27ten Abril 1822 sind wir die unterschriebene als Diener und Eltesten Der Menoniten gemeinde von schippach bey samen gewesen und haben die almosen Rechnung übersehen und finden in den Handen von Henrich Kassel die sum von ein hunderd sechs

[24] There was a preacher at Germantown by that name. He served in a number of congregations and died Feb. 12, 1867; buried at the Providence Meetinghouse. *(Herald of Truth.* May, 1867.)

[25] *Vergadering* is a Dutch word meaning *meeting.* It is used rather frequently in the book. The land referred to is the 100 acre farm and woodland owned by the congregation. Both the land and the meetinghouse were taken by those who left the Franconia Conference in 1847. But the Lower Skippack congregation is today independent and its members are commonly called "Johnson" Mennonites. (There have been three Henry Johnsons in the ministry there,—father, son, and grandson.) The part of the Skippack congregation which remained in the Franconia Conference was forced to buy land and to erect a new meetinghouse in 1848. The alms book remained with the latter group, whose meetinghouse is designated as "Upper Skippack." So all the signers were members of what is today the Franconia Mennonite Conference. According to tradition conference originally met in the Skippack meetinghouse (what is now "Lower Skippack").

und fünfszig Pfund achtzehen schilling und sechs bens und in den Handen von Abraham Hendricks die sum von sieben und fünfzig Pfund fier schilling und elf bens

Henrich Kassel 156 – 18 – 6
Abraham Hendricks 51 – 4 – 11"

* * * *

Merz den 27 ten 1875 waren wir die underschriebenen beisammen und haben die almosen Rechnung übersehen und funden in den händen von Johannes B. Tyson $304.94 haben aussbezahlt an die schwester ———— ———— zu erhalten $106.00 und haben bezahlt $15.00 an die schwester ———— ———— und an die schwester ———— ———— $15.00 und bleibt noch in den händen von Johannes B. Tyson $246.92.

* * * *

Märtz den 24ten 1900 waren wir die unterschriebenen beisamen und haben die Almosen rechnung übersehen und ward aus bezahlt für den alten bruder ———— ———— $37.00 aus bezahlt für eine blinde schwester in Monatoba $18.00 bezahlt für die schwester ———— ———— $12.00 bezahlt für wein $2.25 danach blieb noch in den handen von Abraham S. Kulp $1007.79.

* * *

This 7th day of March 1925 we the undersigned ministers and deacons have met at the home of Deacon George L. Reiff and kept our alms reckoning, showing that we paid for as follows, Wine $9.00 and for sister ———— ———— $199.50 for her mantenance at the Home. Leaving in the hands of deacon Benj. C. Wismer the sum of $1550.11.

* * * *

Since about 1859 the age of a deceased minister or deacon was sometimes written after his last signature. Sometimes this expanded into a note giving the date of his death and the length of his term of service, as, "Henry K. Wismer died September 3, 1910 age, 87 years, 6 mo. 22 d. In the ministry 27 years." During the decade 1880-1890 each man began to mark his age after his signature as "John B. Hunsberry age 63," or "John B. Tyson in my 80."

As was mentioned above at first a list of receipts and disbursements was kept. Almost all of these are found in the back part of the book. Some of these are of great historic value. For example the first one I shall cite makes clear that the early leaders in Skippack were progressive enough to put a stove in the meeting house,[26] or "rather in the ante-room."

"Am 6 ten Abril 1747 Hat Valantine Hunsicker bezahlt von der Rent wegen dem schul Land von George Schmit vor Ein Eisseren

[26] M. G. Weaver: *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference*, Scottdale, Pa. 1931, p. 433, conjectures that the early Mennonites in Lancaster county worshipped without any heat. The Skippack meetinghouse was erected in 1725.

offen 3£ 10 schil welcher in dass Vorgaderung Haus oder Eher in die Kammer darins komt welches mit Rath der Diener und Eltesten geschehen ist welches wir mit unsser Eigene Händen bezeugenen."

Of course the stoves in use in 1747 were little more than several iron plates set up to form a fire box. The following note records the payment of the masons for "erecting" the stove. "Am 22 ten October 1747 hat Valantin Hunsicker vor dem maurer vor 2 stuben offen auff zu setzen 7 schilling welches er von dem Rent bezalt oder genomen worden ist welches wir mit unsser Eigene hand bezeugen."

Two years later the deacon purchased a pick and shovel for the congregation. "Am 27 ten Mertz 1749 hat Valentine Hunsicker zalt von dem rent gelt von dem Vorgader land ein pickel und schauffel schib zum nutzen der gemeinte welches wir bezeugen."

Again the same deacon pays for chopping and hauling wood for the meeting. "1752 Am 19 ten Mertz bleibt noch übrig von dem Rent wegen dem Vor gader Land Nach allem abzug wegen holtz hacken und fahren zum nutzen der versamlung. . . ."

March 24, 1755, the leaders (Andreas Ziegler, Jacob Schumacher and Jacob Goetschalcks) certify certain financial transactions of the deacons among which is paying the school-master (Christopher Dock ?) two shillings for cleaning the grave-yeard. ". . . und 2 schilling an den schuhl meister vor den begrab blatz zu butzen. . . ."

* * * *

The historical value of the book is not easily overestimated. (One wishes that it were safely kept in a fire-proof building.) A number of problems have already been mentioned. Did Jacob Kolb serve as a deacon prior to his early death in 1739? Since Michael Ziegler kept the alms-money, is there documentary proof that he ever was a preacher? Outside of those mentioned as treasurer there is no way to distinguish preachers from deacons. Just how often did laymen sign the audit?[26a] There seems to be clear evidence that they occasionally did sign. And then what about Henry Bertolet?

July 1, 1836 Heinrich Bertolet, "Prediger in den Mennonitischen Gemeinden in Skippack," issued the first (and only) number of a monthly religious periodical. According to N. B. Grubb,[27] Henry Bertolet was descended of French Hugenots who settled in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1726. Henry's father Abraham

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[26a] On February 24, 1791, there are sixteen signatures, and it is stated that "brethren" were present.

[27] *Mennonite Year Book and Almanac for 1908*, p. 6 ff.

married a Mennonite girl named Hunsicker. Henry's first wife was Elizabeth Reiff and his second was Mary Detweiler. He died November 2, 1853, and was buried in Bertolet's Burial acre.[28] Moses Godshall (General Conference Mennonite) preached the funeral sermon. Why did Bertolet never sign the Alms Book audits? The oldest living member of the Franconia Conference[29] believes that Bertolet preached in the churches of the Franconia conference. Perhaps Bertolet and his fellow-ministers had not too cordial relations.

As mentioned above the Skippack "circuit" today consists of the believers who meet in three Mennonite meetinghouses—upper Skippack, Providence and Worcester.[30] At an earlier period the Towamencin congregation, now in the district of Bishops Mininger, Clemmer and Ruth, was also served by the Skippack ministers. At the present time each of the three congregations has a resident deacon. But all ordination services for ministers are conducted in the Skippack meetinghouse, though any member in the district may vote. The following is the preaching arrangement: One Sunday all four ministers in the circuit are present at Skippack. The following Sunday two go to Worcester and two to Providence. The third Sunday all meet at Skippack. The fourth Sunday the groups alternate (from the arrangement of two weeks previous) and two go to Worcester and two to Providence. Communion services are held at Skippack and Providence in the Spring and at Worcester in the Fall.[31]

For reference purposes I shall arrange the list of signers alphabetically and give each man the number he had in the chronological list:

44.	David G. Allebach	70.	George Detweiler
81.	Warren G. Bean	19.	Hans Dettwiller
88.	Isaac B. Beideman	9.	Johannes Friedt
47.	Henrich Bien	13.	Paulus Friedt
50.	Abraham Cassel	75.	Joseph Gander
27.	John Custer	5.	Jacob Greder
68.	John Custer	12.	Jacob Gaedtschalck
69.	Paul Custer	16a.	Jacob Gaetschalcks
32.	Abraham Detweiler	35.	Peter Godschalk

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28 In Lower Frederick township, Montgomery County.

29 Preacher Henry M. Clemmer (b.1849), ordained deacon at Salford November 14, 1888, and preacher October 22, 1908.

30 Or Methacton. (The "Johnson" Mennonites worship in the Lower Skippack, Providence and Worcester meetinghouses.)

31 Almost all the congregations in the Franconia conference have annual communion services.

33. Gottshall Gottschalk
42. William Gottschall
16. Adam Gotwals
53. John Gotwals
83. John G. Gotwals
46. Abraham Hendricks
67. John H. Hendricks
49. John Histand
40. John Horning
77. Christian Hunsberger
86. J. Martin Hunsberger
72. John B. Hunsberry
54. Abraham Hunsicker
52. Garet Hunsicker
29. Henrich Hunsicker
25. Isaac Hunsicker
56. Isaac Hunsicker
41. Johannes Hunsicker
62. John D. Hunsicker
8. Valentine Hunsicker
31. Benjamin Jansen
3. Claus Janson
65. Henry G. Johnson
24. Peter Johnson
39. Peter Johnson
21. Henrich Kassel
22. Henrich Kassel
30. Isaac Kassel
26. John Kassel
4. Yilles Kassel
20. Dielman Kolb
17. Henrich Kolb
64. Henry Kolb
23. Isaac Kolb
1. Martin Kolb
2. Martin Kolb
48. Johannes Kratz
74. Abraham S. Kulp
11. Peter Kuster
66. Daniel Landes
51. Elias Landes
84. Irwin R. Landes
59. Johannes Landes
55. Jacob Landes
87. Jacob T. Landes
89. Jacob T. Landes
60. Isaac Longacre
90. Elmer M. Mack
82. Jesse H. Mack
91. Jesse M. Mack
61. Jacob Markley
73. Jacob B. Mensch
28. Henry Pannebecker
85. Howard S. Pennapacker
76. Abraham S. Reiff
57. George Reiff
78. George L. Reiff
43. Matthias Rittenhouse
15. Garet Schrager
10. Jacob Schumacher
63. Johannes Souder
18. Christian Stauffer
38. John Tyson
71. John B. Tyson
36. William Tyson
58. Abraham Wismer
80. Benjamin C. Wismer
34. Henry Wismer
79. Henry K. Wismer
14. Andreas Ziegler
37. Dielman Ziegler
45. Garret Zigler
6. Michael Ziegler
7. Michael Ziegler